

**TEMPLES *IN ANTIS* IN THE BRONZE AND IRON AGES OF THE LEVANT:  
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CASE STUDY OF RITUAL AND RELIGION IN THE  
ANCIENT NEAR EAST**

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## ABSTRACT

Temples *in antis* first appear in the Early Bronze Age in modern day Syria and gradually spread southwards through the rest of the Levant from the Middle Bronze Age onwards. In Syria, some temples *in antis* are still found in the Iron Age but they seem to be declining in popularity in this period. This research aims to provide a new definition of temples *in antis* across the Levant based not only on the architecture as in previous research, but also on the finds within the temples. Looking at the finds as well as the architecture allows a consideration of the nature of activities associated with these buildings, and a comparison between these temples and other types of temples will show whether they represent a new style of cult or simply a new style of architecture to house existing cults.

Before considering the temples *in antis* specifically, this research first presents a summary of research into religion and ritual in archaeology, an area that has been sadly neglected in the past, allowing a definition of what we may be encountering in the case of these temples. It is hoped that this research will add to the recent wave of research on religion in archaeology, acting as a case study that shows how the archaeological remains of religion should be considered as an important piece of evidence allowing us to better understand ancient societies, rather than simply being ignored or treated as something of a joke.

In the main part of this research, the entire corpus of temples *in antis* is collected, and then all the available data on finds from these temples are brought together for analysis. Because of the lack of data for many sites, four case study sites (Ebla, Tel Haror, Tell el-Hayyat and Hazor) were chosen which act as a base to which other, more poorly published sites may be compared. Conclusions based on this research are threefold considering: firstly, what can be determined about religion and ritual in the temple *in antis*; secondly, how these temples compare to other types of temples; and finally, how these temples, whatever they represent, may have spread.





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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Temples *in antis* are a specific form of temple found in the Levant in the Bronze and Iron Ages. They are characterised by having a simple rectangular building plan, centrally aligned entrance and cult focus (i.e. statue of the god), and a porch created by the forward extension of the sidewalls either side of the doorway (the antae from which the type's name is derived). The traditional model is that the type appears first in Early Bronze Age Syria and gradually appears in the southern Levant throughout the Middle Bronze Age. The spread of the temple *in antis* is one feature of the type that will be considered below.

This research is primarily designed to collate all the known examples of the temples *in antis*, both to update previous research on this architectural type, and also to consider the finds within the temples in conjunction with the architecture, something which has not been previously been attempted for the type as a whole. Considering the finds as well as the architecture will, at the most basic level, allow an analysis of the sorts of activities associated with these buildings. Furthermore, analysing the finds and architecture together will allow us to see how the activities represented compare to other types of temples and thus whether the appearance of the temple *in antis* represents new or different religious activities and beliefs, or simply a popular type of architecture to house existing religious activities. A secondary function of this research is to act as a case study for the study of religion and ritual from an archaeological perspective. Theoretical work on how we might approach the archaeology of religion and ritual have been increasing in popularity in recent years (e.g. Insoll 2004b) and this research is an attempt to show that the archaeology of religion and ritual both can be and should be considered to be an important piece of evidence to help us understand the past.

Ancient religion has always fascinated people. Visiting ancient religious sites and speculating about the ancient beliefs captures the public imagination. Religious sites make up around 20% of the complete World Heritage Site List (cultural and natural), which is the largest single category of sites on the list (UNESCO 2010). According to UNESCO the religious sites on the list “singularly demonstrate the spirit of a particular place” (UNESCO 2010). This is not to mention the numerous religious sites that have not been afforded world heritage status and yet that still draw tourists.

Beliefs are not isolated phenomena, they permeate through all aspects of life, Christians do not cease in their beliefs when they leave church on Sunday for example. Because of this, the understanding of religious beliefs is integral to our understanding of any society, ancient or modern. Religious beliefs are a reflection of the society in question but they also shape the daily life of that society. By understanding how people envisage the world they live in, we can begin to understand those people. Religious beliefs can potentially influence any action, however mundane it may seem, and sometimes, these influences can leave a trace in the archaeological record.

Despite the importance of religion to our understanding of societies, and indeed, the plethora of data that is available on religious activities from archaeological sites around the world, archaeological studies of religion have been sadly lacking. Calling anything out of the ordinary “ritual” on archaeological sites became such a joke that many scholars have simply avoided religion and ritual altogether. Studies of ancient religions have generally been based on texts, meaning that the religious beliefs of prehistoric societies were often ignored. When prehistoric religions were considered, there was always the danger that the interpretations of the archaeology were more of a representation of the archaeologists’ imagination than a plausible explanation of the evidence. Some scholars would publish temples and so forth, but give little or no interpretation other than the fact they thought the evidence pointed to ritual. Renfrew was the first to attempt to look at religion through archaeology, doing so with the evidence from the sanctuary he excavated at Phylakopi (Renfrew 1994). There were other attempts at conferences to look at religion in archaeology (e.g. Garwood et al: 1991) but it was not really until the work of Timothy Insoll (2004a; 2004b) that the pattern began to change, with people beginning to think more generally about what the archaeology of religion and ritual is.



Figure 1- Map of the Levant and Northern Egypt showing terrain, rivers, and the 200mm isohyet

## **The Ancient Near East in the Bronze and Iron Ages**

### *Geography (see Figure 1)*

The Near East is a vast region that spans from modern day Turkey in the west, to modern day Iran in the East, and south as far as Egypt. The region in question in this research is the Levant, roughly speaking, modern day Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Northern Egypt will also be referred to because of its ancient relationship with the Levant. The Levant may further be divided into north and south, (roughly Syria/Lebanon and Israel/Palestine/Jordan respectively).

The region is dry, making agriculture difficult since at least 200mm of rainfall per year is needed to sustain rain-fed agriculture. The 200mm isohyet (a line connecting areas of equal rainfall) runs in a crescent from the southern Levant to the Persian Gulf but rainfall in this area is still inconsistent meaning that rivers and irrigation are essential for agriculture in this region (Van De Mieroop 2004: 8). Mountains and deserts create boundaries between different parts of the Near East. The Syrian Desert between Mesopotamia and the Levant was impassable until at least the Iron Age, meaning that any contact between Mesopotamia and the southern Levant was via Syria, along the rivers and valleys (Van De Mieroop 2004: 10). Mountains in the Levant meant that valleys were important for contact between the north and south, so interactions were affected by this and political control of the valley regions (Van De Mieroop 2004: 9).

### *Chronology*

The time period covered in this research is extensive, ranging from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age, a period of roughly 3000 years. There has been much debate over the exact dating of the various periods, which is based mainly on comparisons with Egypt (Mazar 1992b: 30; Levy 1998: xvi; Schwartz 2008). Debates about the dating of the Middle Bronze Age have been particularly prevalent. Correlation with the dating of Tell el-Dab'a, as well as radiocarbon dates for Middle Bronze material from Levantine sites has pushed the dates for the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age forward by about a century to around 1900 B.C.E. (Maeir 2010: 127-8). Absolute dates will be rarely used in this study but a chronological table is included below to give a broad sense of the time periods in question.

**Table 1- Chronology of the Bronze and Iron Ages of the Levant**

| <b>Period</b>     | <b>Approximate Date</b> |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Early Bronze I    | 3500-3000 B.C.E.        |
| Early Bronze II   | 3000-2700 B.C.E.        |
| Early Bronze III  | 2700-2300 B.C.E.        |
| Early Bronze IV   | 2300-1900 B.C.E.        |
| Middle Bronze I   | 1900-1710 B.C.E.        |
| Middle Bronze II  | 1710-1625 B.C.E.        |
| Middle Bronze III | 1625-1540 B.C.E.        |
| Late Bronze I     | 1540-1400 B.C.E.        |
| Late Bronze II    | 1400-1200 B.C.E.        |
| Iron IA-B         | 1200-1000 B.C.E.        |
| Iron IIA-C        | 1000-586 B.C.E.         |

### *The Early Bronze Age*

The Early Bronze Age in the Levant is divided into three phases. The Early Bronze I in the southern Levant is characterised by small, unfortified settlements, similar to those seen in the Chalcolithic, but in new, more fertile, areas (Mazar 1992b: 94). Buildings tended to be rounded like those seen in Syria suggesting possible foreign influence in this area (Mazar 1992b: 97), the pottery types are generally an evolution of existing styles (Mazar 1992b: 102). Copper is the only metal used for weapons and tools in the entire Early Bronze Age and flint blades continue to be used although new forms are introduced (Mazar 1992b: 103). It seems that there is a mixture of internal innovations and foreign influence, via trade or possibly immigrations from Syria (Mazar 1992b: 105). Some contact with Egypt through Sinai is also evident although the nature of this contact is not clear (Mazar 1992b: 107).

Following the collapse of the Uruk period in the northern Levant, which had seen some degree of centralization and urbanization and close ties between Syria and Mesopotamia (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 209-10), we see the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. In this period there is similar situation to the southern Levant, of small sites, sometimes with associated satellite villages, and a lack of public architecture, with the exception of small single roomed temples and silos (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 216-218). It has been suggested that the presence of these large silos, too large for the settlement size, indicate the

presence of a central authority that organized surplus grain. Others have suggested that the silos could simply be to provide for the people and animals of the village and the semi-nomadic groups that may have been present in the region (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 221-222). It seems that there was some degree of social complexity in the form of emerging elites and specialized economies (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 231).

The Early Bronze II-III in the southern Levant is characterized by the beginnings of urbanization, cities emerge with stone walls and towers around them, which become further strengthened in the Early Bronze III (Mazar 1992b: 119). Architecture in this period is rectilinear and broad roomed, and the pottery is a continuation of Early Bronze I styles and shared across the southern Levant and the northern coastal areas (Byblos and Ugarit) (Mazar 1992b: 119-132). Connections existed between the Levant and Egypt as Levantine pottery is found in some First and Second Dynasty tombs and some Egyptian vessels are found in the southern Levant. Towards the end of the Early Bronze Age Egyptian naval contact with Byblos increases while land routes across Sinai seem to decline (Mazar 1992b: 136). Seals seem to indicate relations with Syria and Mesopotamia (Mazar 1992b: 137).

The same period saw the urbanisation of the northern Levant as well, possibly influenced by the existing urbanism in Mesopotamia (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 233). There is an increase in the number of settlements, and particularly the appearance of large sites such as Ebla and Mari, seen to be regional centres (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 244). Many of these sites are fortified by city walls, sometimes with earthen ramparts and there is increasing evidence of craft specialisation and the mass production of pottery with the fast wheel. Public architecture in the form of palaces and temples *in antis* are common. Bronze was also becoming more popular in this period in Syria and Mesopotamia although copper continues to be used. The presence of lapis lazuli as well as the tin for bronze in the region suggests the existence of trading relations with Afghanistan (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 268-71).

Intensive rescue excavations along the Euphrates valley in response to the construction of the Taqba and Tishrin dams which flooded the region (now Lake Assad), have shown that a similar urbanisation was occurring here as well, with public architecture including a number of temples *in antis* excavated, as well as silos, domestic architecture and so forth (Cooper 2006). This period also saw the expansion of the Akkadian Empire, which controlled all of southern Mesopotamia and some of Syria (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 277).



### *The Early Bronze Collapse and the Early Bronze IV*

There was a relatively quick and complete collapse of the urban culture at the end of the Early Bronze Age for which there are various explanations including, Egyptian Raids, Amorite invasion from the north, and climate change causing severe droughts (Mazar 1992b: 141-143). The likelihood is that all these factors may have played a role, with droughts causing socioeconomic crises, attacks on the weakened settlements and conflict over resources by locals and foreigners leaving voids that could be filled by immigrants from other parts of the Near East (Mazar 1992b: 143).

In Syria too there is evidence, if not of total collapse, then at least of stress in the region. A number of sites were abandoned, possibly as a result of Akkadian expansion (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 282). Theories as to why there was a collapse of Syrian society at the end of the Early Bronze Age centre on environmental factors. Either that climate change, causing droughts and possibly followed by a volcanic eruption, or over farming of surrounding lands, possibly coupled with droughts, caused the end of sedentism and an increase in nomadism in the region (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 283-4). Some sites did continue for example Mozan, where a Hurrian dynasty seems to have existed, Tell Brak, Tall Bi'a and Mari (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 284-7).

The following period, known as the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age (e.g. Kenyon 1971: 567), Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I (e.g. Mazar 1992b: 152), Middle Bronze I (e.g. Albright 1949: 80), or simply Early Bronze IV (Oren 1973) depending who you read, is characterised by semi-sedentary villages with roundhouses suggesting a different social structure (Mazar 1992b: 165). Here Early Bronze IV is used although in actuality it makes little difference. The material culture however shows an evolution from Early Bronze Age types although there are some new types of Syrian imported pottery and Syrian toggle pins suggesting some degree of foreign contact (Mazar 1992b: 166). The old theory was that Amorite invaders had caused the Early Bronze collapse and then inhabited the area (see for example Kenyon 1971: 593-5), but it now seems that if there was a migration from the north, it was simply filling an area that had already been destroyed. It is possible that there were indigenous, semi-nomadic groups that had been somewhat suppressed in the urbanised Early Bronze Age and that now had a chance to thrive (Mazar 1992b: 171).

Amorite presence in Mesopotamia is known from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium when texts refer to them as a threat, although some Amorite individuals also appear to have played important roles in Mesopotamian society, becoming rulers after the Early Bronze collapse in Syria and Mesopotamia (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 288). The Early Bronze IV period in Syria sees many abandoned sites, or at least many sites reducing in size except at Ebla, which continues to be powerful, with the building of the earthen rampart and a large gate (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 291-6).

### *The Middle Bronze Age*

The Middle Bronze Age I (or Middle Bronze II depending on the terminology used for the previous period) in the southern Levant, sees a renewal of urban life on a much larger scale. New fortified cities appear, surrounded by small villages (Mazar 1992b: 178). A new feature that seems to show Syrian influence is free standing earthen ramparts surrounding cities (Mazar 1992b: 181). There is a development of new architecture in the Middle Bronze Age in the form of temples *in antis*, which are traditionally seen to have been introduced from Syria via trade or immigration of northern peoples like the Amorites. The introduction of the fast potter's wheel saw new types of fine ceramics, many of which seem to show continuation from Early Bronze types and painted decoration suggests links to Syria (Mazar 1992b: 182). Bronze was also introduced in this period, probably from the north, and new forms of weapons appear (Mazar 1992b: 185). The lack of local tin sources suggests long distance trade, possibly as far as Afghanistan (Mazar 1992b: 184). Contact with Egypt was most likely through trade and diplomacy not direct rule (Mazar 1992b: 188). The shared burial type, "Warrior Burials", across the ancient Near East also suggest links between the different regions since they occur from Mesopotamia to Egypt, suggesting some degree of shared ideology across the Near East in the Middle Bronze Age (Philip 1995).

In the latter half of the Middle Bronze Age, the Levantine Hyksos dynasty was present in the Nile Delta (15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) with their capital at Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) (Mazar 1992b: 192). The Middle Bronze Age ended with Hittite raids in the Northern Levant, destroying kingdoms, followed by an influx of Hurrians (from Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia). The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt was followed by conflict and the destruction of cities as they fled into the southern Levant (Mazar 1992b: 226). There was not, however a

complete break in culture as there had been at the end of the Early Bronze Age, and many cities were soon rebuilt (Mazar 1992b: 227).

In the northern Levant, this period is also marked by the re-emergence of urban life with the appearance of regional states controlled from central cities like Mari and Alalakh (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 297). Pottery is mass-produced and the big cities have extensive public architecture like palaces and temples (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 298). There is evidence of long distance trade between Syria, the Levant, Mesopotamia, Crete, and Egypt from textual evidence at Mari, and from foreign, or foreign inspired artefacts, especially at sites along the Mediterranean coast (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 323).

### *The Late Bronze Age*

The Late Bronze Age was characterized by Egyptian rule in the southern Levant, starting with sporadic raids, and ending with complete control under Tuthmosis III (Mazar 1992b: 233). Egyptian raids continued into Syria against the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni, using the southern Levant as a stepping-stone to the north (Mazar 1992b: 233). There is a general decrease in the size and density of settlements in the southern Levant in this period accompanied by a possible increase in semi-nomadic pastoralists (Mazar 1992b: 239). Some urban centres continue to be important and new settlements appear on the coast, but there is a lack of fortifications and an increase in Egyptian residences, possibly for governors etc. (Mazar 1992b: 243).

Another new feature is the separation of temples and palaces across the Levant. These buildings had previously been situated close or adjacent to each other but are now found in different areas of the sites, with the palaces usually moving closer to the city gate while the temple remains in the same place (Mazar 1992b: 244). Most of the southern Levantine temples *in antis* cease to be used in this period and the temples that replace them tend to be more irregular in plan. Warrior Burials also cease at the end of the Middle Bronze Age across the Near East, probably in response to the changing political structure of the region and the introduction of new types of warfare (Philip 1995: 153). There is a great increase in imported Cypriot, and some Mycenaean pottery, but local pottery becomes much coarser (Mazar 1992b: 259). This and the presence of Cypriot copper oxhide ingots is evidence of trading relations between the Levant and Cyprus (Mazar 1992b: 264).

The northern Levant in the Late Bronze Age serves as the location of a number of conflicts between different empires such as Mitanni, Egypt, and Assyria (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 327). Pottery styles continue from the Middle Bronze Age, along with new types of imported pottery from Cyprus and the Aegean (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 333). Donkeys (possibly associated with land trade) and horses (associated with the new two wheeled chariot) increase in number during this period (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 353). Glass vessels and glazed objects also appear for the first time in Syria in this period, along with an increase in faience (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 354-5). Like in the southern Levant, many of the old temples *in antis* cease to be used in this period, though some new ones are constructed, for example, the temple at 'Ain Dara.

A series of crises occur across the Near East and Aegean, marking the end of the Late Bronze Age. The Hittite empire collapses, there are destructions throughout the Mycenaean world, there is a decline in Egyptian power, and there are destructions of southern Levantine cities (Mazar 1992b: 287-8). This collapse has, in the past, been blamed on an invasion by the Sea Peoples, although it seems likely that the influx of these new groups was merely one factor in the end of the Late Bronze Age not the entire cause (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 359). It seems likely that a series of factors including drought and economic difficulties were to blame, as was the case at the end of the Early Bronze Age (Mazar 1992b: 288; Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 359).

### *The Iron Age*

The Iron Age is subdivided into Iron I and Iron II with further subdivisions in each phase. The earliest Phase, Iron IA is somewhat transitional seeing the end of Egyptian rule in the southern Levant and a general continuation of material culture from the Late Bronze Age (Mazar 1992b: 296). The end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age also sees the introduction of a new ethnic group, the Sea Peoples, in the southern Levant (in Philistia, roughly modern day Gaza). They are already known from Bronze Age Egyptian sources as both enemies and mercenaries (Mazar 1992b: 302), and indeed they have been blamed for the collapse of the Late Bronze Age (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 359). Their origin is debated though it seems likely that they were from the Aegean and the Anatolian coast (Mazar 1992b: 306).

In the southern Levant we also see the emergence of “Israelite” culture, with hundreds of new small settlements being founded in the Iron I period, often believed to represent the immigration of Israelite tribes referred to in the Bible (Mazar 1992b: 334). The Iron I sees the emergence of the four-roomed house, perceived as an indicator of Israelite settlement (Mazar 1992b: 340). The pottery of these settlements is limited to a few types essential for survival, such as pithoi for storing water (Mazar 1992b: 346). Bronze continued to be the main metal in use throughout the Iron I, with iron increasing in popularity gradually (Mazar 1992b: 359). The Iron II period (associated with the biblical monarchy from Saul to the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylonians in 586 B.C.E., 1 Sam- 2 Chr) is characterised by increasing urbanisation and fortifications in the form of casemate, then solid city walls with chambered gates (Mazar 1992b: 388). There were now a number of kingdoms, rather than the earlier model of Bronze Age cities with their extensive hinterland, present in the southern Levant, including Israel, Judah, Ammon, Moab, and Edom (Mazar 1992b: 295). The Iron II is also believed to be the date that Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem was built (Finkelstein & Silberman 2006: 20).

In the northern Levant as well, the Iron Age sees the emergence of regional states, replacing the old city based states (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 360), these states eventually being absorbed into larger empires (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 394). The region became increasingly important in trade, producing more specialised goods for export via the coast, and land trade across the desert is facilitated by the introduction of the camel (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 396). Temples *in antis* in this period are much rarer, though they are still found at ‘Ain Dara, Tell Afis, Carchemish, and Aleppo.

### *The study of Religion and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*

Archaeological studies of religion and ritual in the Near East are as lacking as elsewhere. There has been a marked divide in scholarship between texts and archaeology. There has been extensive research done into the religious beliefs of areas where texts are common, for example Egypt and Mesopotamia, but even here work mainly focused on the pantheons and mythologies (e.g. Pinch 2002; Dalley 2000), and on the administrative role of temples (e.g. Foster 1981; Lipinski 1979) since this is what texts were mainly concerned with. In the Levant, textual sources for religion are relatively rare, although some archives such as those at Ugarit and Emar, have helped shed light on both the mythology and ritual activities of the

ancient Levant (see for example Pardee 2002; del Olmo Lete 1999; Fleming 1992). The Bible has also been used as a source of information to some degree, though its descriptions of non-Yahwistic religious beliefs are mainly restricted to mentions of deity names and brief references to “heathen” activities.

Archaeological studies into the ancient religions of the ancient Near East have generally been limited to descriptions of temple architecture and occasionally descriptions of some of the more “special” finds in excavation reports, particularly in older publications (for example Woolley 1955; Loud 1948). There have been some comprehensive syntheses of temple architecture in the ancient Near East (for example Ottosson 1980; G. R. H. Wright 1985; Mazar 1992a) but these ignore any other archaeological data that may shed light on the ritual activity taking place in the temples.

Some studies have used both archaeology and texts but these have again been focused on architecture and mentions of temple building in textual sources (e.g. Hurowitz 1992; Boda & Novotny 2010). There is a tendency in textual studies to pick elements of archaeology to justify what has been seen from the texts (e.g. Hundley 2013), not only in studies of religion but in any study of ancient society. The problem in this case is that archaeology is never that easily interpreted. The evidence is usually incomplete, disturbed, and can often be interpreted in many ways. It is easy to see what you expect to see in such inconsistent data, thus if you begin excavating or looking at excavation data with an idea in mind then you will inevitably find that idea, whether it existed or not.

### *Why Temples and Why Temples in antis?*

Although temples are not the only form of religious expression since physical evidence of religious belief can potentially exist anywhere in the archaeological record, they are one of the most recognisable forms. Places designed or used specifically for religious activities, such as temples, offer a contained window into the religion and ritual of the past since they exist exclusively for religious purposes. Temples *in antis* are a phenomenon that spans the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Levant. In Syria, they are a symptom of the urbanisation of society during the Early Bronze Age and as urbanisation grew in the southern Levant, they also begin to appear. As an easily recognisable type of architecture they offer an opportunity to study not just the cultic activity of the ancient Near East but also, potentially the relationships

between different areas of the Near East since they are seen to have spread southwards throughout the Bronze Age.

### *The Temple in the Ancient Near East*

**temple:** a building devoted to the worship of a god or gods (OED)

A temple is a public sacred building (Kamlah 2012: 507), a place where the human and the divine can meet. Temples in the ancient Near East were seen as the house of the god (Hundley 2013: 3), quite literally, in that the deity was believed to inhabit the temple and require the same daily necessities as humans. This seems to have been the case across the ancient Near East, in the Levant but also in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Deities were presented with food and drink regularly as well as receiving other gifts and offerings (Hundley 2013: 354). Temples are common in the ancient Levant, certainly up until the end of the Bronze Age.

The temple *in antis* is one of a number of styles of temple which became widespread in the Middle Bronze Age, characterised by having a main room (the cella), whose side walls extend forward, either side of the centrally aligned door, to create a porch. The earliest examples are found in Early Bronze Age Syria and from there spread south through the rest of the Levant continuing in use through the Middle Bronze Age and into the Late Bronze Age. Some examples continued into the Iron Age as well although only the temples at Tell Ta'yinat, Carchemish, and Tell 'Afis (and the Jerusalem temple) were newly constructed in this period.

Previous archaeological research into Levantine temples has generally consisted simply of the publication of the excavation reports for single sites, which use evidence from other sites that seem to parallel the finds in question (e.g. Bonfil 1997; Klenck 2002). There have also been architectural studies that either discuss the origins of architectural styles (e.g. Yeivin 1968; Wright 1971) or provide a background for studies of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem (e.g. Wright 1971; Busink 1970), or that focus on specific regions within the Levant (e.g. Ottosson 1980; Castel 2010). Recently an edited volume (Kamlah 2012) has collected together studies of both architecture and cultic activities in them, and Hundley's book (2013) has discussed divine presence and rituals in temples, but such examples are the exception.

The entire corpus of material has not been collected together for systematic study, meaning that from an archaeological perspective, our picture of Levantine religion is incomplete. Excavations of temples have produced a plethora of ceramics, small finds, and sometimes faunal and botanical remains too but these are not studied as a complete data set, only haphazardly brought in for comparison in excavation reports of other temples. Even the texts can only give a partial view of religious beliefs and activities, since the only contemporary texts are from Syria and Lebanon, potentially an area with different cultic practices, and yet these texts are used to describe cult from different time periods, across the whole Levant. Another difficulty with using textual evidence to religion and ritual is that they assume that the reader already has a certain amount of knowledge of the religious beliefs and rituals concerned since the intended audience would have been practitioners of that religion. This means that texts alone cannot give a complete picture of ancient religions.

It is clear that there is a need to look at all the information possible in order to gain a more complete picture of Levantine religion. The present study then aims to:

- 1) bring together all the published temples *in antis*, looking at both architecture and finds wherever possible and learn what this evidence might tell us about ritual and religion in the ancient Near East
- 2) see whether the spread of this style of temple building represents an adoption of new religious beliefs or simply a trend in architecture, and how and why these ideas (whatever they are) may have spread.

In Chapter 2, the study begins with a look at religion and ritual generally, looking at sociological, anthropological, and archaeological studies into what religion and ritual are and how they might be identified in the archaeological record. This will allow a better understanding of what religion and ritual actually are and how they might be addressed by archaeologists, aiding in the interpretation of the temples *in antis*. This chapter also looks at previous research into the spread of religions, in terms of the mechanisms that allow ideas to spread and to become accepted in new places, in order to better understand how and why these temples may have spread throughout the Levant.

Next, in Chapter 3, previous research into temple architecture is presented, allowing a better understanding of what a temple *in antis* is, and how it differs architecturally from other temple types in the Near East, and also illustrating the current state of research. Chapter 4



presents a description of the sites that appear in this research, providing contexts for the temples and descriptions of the architecture of each temple *in antis*. The finds at each site, are also described in as much detail as possible here, based on published information, giving an idea of the types of archaeological evidence available, aside from the architecture. This includes, where possible, pottery types, other portable objects such as jewellery, weapons, and figurines, faunal material, and botanical remains. The nature of excavation reports, and in some cases the lack of final reports means that unfortunately the desired complete database of finds cannot be produced. However, four sites (Ebla, Tel Haror, Tell el-Hayyat, and Hazor) allow a detailed analysis of the finds inside the temples at the time of writing. It is hoped that by studying these sites, and using them as a baseline to compare them to the other sites wherever possible, that we will be able to gain a more complete picture of Levantine religion and ritual.

In Chapter 5, these case study sites (Ebla P and HH1, Tel Haror, Tell el-Hayyat, and Hazor A and H) are described in detail, noting the finds and their deposition (where possible) in relation to the architecture. In Chapter 6, comparison case studies are presented (Hazor C and F, Nahariyah, Tell el-Dab'a and Lachish), giving descriptions of architecture and finds at each site to act as comparison to the temples in antis. In Chapter 7, the finds are treated separately by types, bringing together the case studies, the other temples in antis, and the comparison sites, in an attempt to see whether there are patterns in the types of objects deposited in the case study temples, and comparing them to the other sites where possible. Finally, in Chapter 8, the data is brought together in order to see what we might discern about the nature of cult in the temples *in antis* and how it compares to other types of temples.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RELIGION

Although religion and ritual have always interested archaeologists, there has been little exploration of how, as archaeologists, we might approach religion and what can actually be classified as religion. Many studies focus on individual sites or regions, discussing “ritual” sites, buildings, and artefacts often with little or no justification for calling such things religious or cultic. Indeed “ritual” has been the favourite all-purpose term for anything that seems difficult to explain or even just slightly unusual. It is only relatively recently, notably with the works of Colin Renfrew (1985; 1994) and Timothy Insoll (2004a; 2004b) amongst others, that the issue of identifying ritual in the archaeological record and how these finds can be interpreted in terms of understanding religion and ritual in the past, has been addressed.

Prior to this, much of what was written about religion and ritual in the past was based on texts (if we are fortunate enough to have surviving texts for the area in question), analogy (usually based on tribal societies), and assumptions about past religions based on authors’ own experiences of religion and ritual. Some scholars believe that we cannot reconstruct anything about beliefs in the past since as outsiders we can never understand all of the intricacies of belief systems and ritual practices. At the other end of the spectrum are those who interpret anything they see as unusual as ritual, without considering other possible explanations, and offer up interpretations of these “ritual” remains, proposing elaborate reconstructions of the religious beliefs they are said to represent.

If the present study is to be successful then it seems obvious that an initial consideration of the issues surrounding the archaeology of religion needs to be made in order not only to aid in the interpretation of the results but also more fundamentally to ensure that the sites in question are indeed cultic. What follows is by no means a comprehensive appraisal of all the relevant literature, which would be far beyond the scope of this study, but is intended to address the key works and major issues relevant to the on-going debate. Since much of the research into the archaeology of religion draws heavily on anthropological studies, this will also be the starting point here. Anthropological studies may not be directly relevant to religion in the Bronze Age Levant but they do allow us to understand the phenomena of religion and ritual, something that is an important basis for any more specific study.

Following this, the more specific work concerning the archaeology of religion and ritual will be considered.

### **Previous Perspectives on Religion and Ritual**

Anthropological and sociological studies of religion and ritual are highly varied and numerous. However, despite the long history of research, no flawless methodological approach has emerged (Insoll 2004b: 34). A number of volumes have provided comprehensive overviews of the history of research into religion and ritual (e.g. Bowie 2006; Eller 2007) and there is little point in reproducing this work here. Instead, this section will consider key points in the debate over what religion and ritual are, in the hope of finding an adequate definition of both for the purposes of the present study. As will be seen below it is both impossible and pointless to attempt to devise a universal definition of religion and ritual since to do so denies the unique characteristics that distinguish individual religions and rituals, but it is nonetheless important to outline what is meant by the terms in this research.

We might think of religion most simply as a system of beliefs and yet over a century of research has failed to agree on a definition. Much research has emphasised the supernatural element of religion, with many scholars viewing this as the defining characteristic of religion. According to the dictionary religion is:

the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal god or gods;  
a particular system of faith and worship (OED)

Key to this definition is the idea that a supernatural power or being is what makes a religion a religion. This has been an important feature in other definitions of religion too. The problem is that we immediately begin to ask what this superhuman power is and although according to this definition, gods are the usual form, the superhuman is not necessarily personified in all religions; it can instead take the form of forces of nature for example, not to mention atheistic religions like Buddhism.

Ritual has proved equally difficult to define. What definitions tend to agree on is that ritual is a repeated and structured act with some symbolic importance for the performers, whether this symbolism is overtly religious or not. Ritual has often been simply described as the material

expression of religion. A plethora of anthropological and archaeological research has however shown that this is an oversimplified and inaccurate view, that ritual is in fact only one element of religion. It has been shown elsewhere (e.g. Bell 1992, 1997; Brück 1999) that ritual activity does not have to be primarily religious in function, but neither is what we as outsiders see as religious action always separated from non-religious activity by the participants. According to the dictionary ritual is:

A religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order (OED)

This definition then shows us that ritual is not necessarily religious in nature and that it follows an order that is traditional, the implication being that rituals are repeated events, always following the same sequence of actions. This definition is adequate in describing what a ritual is in its most basic sense but as with religion, the picture is much more complicated. Many people have discussed for example, the social effects of religion, i.e. what place it serves in society. How ritual may be recognised is also an important consideration, especially for the present study.

### *Sociological and anthropological approaches*

One widely quoted work concerning beliefs is James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. This study was an extensive look at mythology, magic, and religion, drawing heavily on classical mythology as well as European mythology. According to Frazer religion is:

a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Thus defined religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them (Frazer 1993: 50)

Here again, we see that the supernatural is central to Frazer's definition of religion though he expands his description, believing that the main aim of religion is to appease these powers not simply to believe in them. The conciliation of the superhuman is by no means the only purpose of religion and although it may play an important role in many religions, it would seem important to recognise that there are many other elements that are equally important.

Frazer, although focusing on mythology and beliefs in his work also discussed specific rituals such as fertility rites. He thought that action and thought were both of equal importance to religion. He summed up ritual in the following way:

Belief and practice or, in theological language, faith and works are equally essential to religion, which cannot exist without both of them. But it is not necessary that religious practice should always take the form of ritual (Frazer 1993: 50).

Despite the fact that Frazer only makes a brief discussion of ritual, he points out an important point that is very often overlooked: that ritual is not the only form of religious practice. According to Frazer, religious practice can also be seen in the way the pious lead their lives, i.e. charitable acts can also be seen as religious practice (Frazer 1993: 51). Religious practice can also include “socially extensive projects that reproduce and entrench social discriminations” (Lewis-Williams 2008: 36). This can include the building of monuments or the waging of wars for example (Lewis-Williams 2008: 36). In fact, as Insoll has pointed out, religious belief can influence absolutely anything within a society (Insoll 2004b: 18), so hypothetically, any action is potentially religious in nature although it may not seem as such to the observer. This does not mean that any action is ritualised, since not every action is repetitive and formalised, only that religious ideas can influence all aspects of life. People do not cease to believe because they are no longer in a place of worship for example. The important point here for archaeologists is that we need to remember that what we find and interpret as ritual activity is not the only form of religious expression made by the society in question. Our interpretations will never be complete since not every aspect of religion is tangible in the first place and certainly, not all tangible aspects of religion will survive in the archaeological record.

Spiro was also of the opinion that the central feature of religion is the belief in supernatural powers that can affect the human world (Spiro 1966: 94). However, he also points out that the belief in such beings or powers is not necessarily the central concern of the followers of a religion and that religions do not necessarily have to be “other-worldly” in orientation (Spiro 1966: 95). He discusses Buddhism and Confucianism, which are often described as atheistic, but he believes that, especially in Buddhism, and even in Confucianism, there is still some degree of belief in spirits (Spiro 1966: 94). For Spiro then religion is:

an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings (Spiro 1966: 96).

Spiro's definition is somewhat confused. On the one hand, he sees the supernatural element as key to religion, but then he states that this belief does not have to be the main element. He also dismisses atheistic religions that would contradict his definition, on the technicality that they do not "explicitly deny" the existence of superhuman beings.

It ultimately seems then, that definitions emphasising the role of the supernatural in religious belief are flawed. Whilst they may address the majority of known religious beliefs, they do not allow for the intricacies and variations amongst belief systems. However, it must be pointed out that in the case of the present study, the superhuman, and specifically gods, are known to be the focus of Levantine religion. In the case of the ancient near east then, and specifically the Levant, we know that religion was geared towards the worship and propitiation of deities. Ancient near eastern myths referencing deities are well known, from Mesopotamia (e.g. Dalley 2000; Kramer 1972), Egypt (e.g. Pinch 2002), and the Levant (e.g. Wyatt 2002; Smith 2002). In addition, there are a number of administrative temple texts that refer to or describe temple rituals in relation to specific deities (see for example Pardee 2002 for a description of Ugaritic rituals).

One of the most widely quoted works on religion is Émile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, first published in French in 1912. In this book Durkheim attempted to define the most basic elements of religion by looking at what he perceived to be the most primitive form of religion he could find, the beliefs of Australian Aborigines. Durkheim's conclusions hinge on his evolutionary view that other more "complex" religions develop from these "primitive" beliefs. While this evolutionary attitude towards tribal societies may seem outdated today, it must be remembered that when Durkheim was writing such views were widely accepted. One of Durkheim's most important points in his approach is that all religions are true to their followers and he himself states that no religion is less worthy because it has been termed primitive (Durkheim 2001: 4-5). This is in keeping with many later works on religion that believe that religion has to be experienced to be understood and that outsiders will never fully know what a religion means if they are non-believers (e.g. Bowie 2003: 50). He even expresses some dislike of the term primitive but uses it for want of a better word (Durkheim 2001: 3 n1).

Durkheim also famously thought that the division of the world into two domains, sacred and profane was one of the key features of religious thought (Durkheim 2001: 36). This point is easy to criticise for being too black and white and relying so heavily on a modern western view of the world. Although it may be true that many religious rituals, for example, are clearly separated from the everyday, the reality is that even in modern “world religions” the division between sacred and profane is blurred at best. Religion affects the way in which people view their world so many actions that we might consider profane would still have a religious element to some degree, even if they are not overtly religious.

According to Durkheim:

a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions- beliefs and practices that unite its adherents into a single moral community called a church (Durkheim 2001: 46). [...] Religion is above all a system of notions by which individuals imagine the society to which they belong and their obscure yet intimate relations with that society (Durkheim 2001: 170-171). [...] acts of worship, whatever they may be, are not futile or meaningless gestures. By seeming to strengthen the ties between the worshipper and his god, they really strengthen the ties that bind the individual to his society, since god is merely the symbolic expression of society (Durkheim 2001: 171).

Durkheim uses the term sacred rather than supernatural or superhuman to describe the focus of religion. Although this term has been criticized for its vagueness since it immediately begs the question “what is sacred?”, the vagueness of the term may actually be its most important feature as the sacred is defined internally from culture to culture, individual to individual so the definition does not assume that all religions share the same basic belief. One of the key features of Durkheim’s definition is that religion is ultimately a reflection of the society in question and any activity associated with that religion essentially serves to reinforce connections to society.

Clifford Geertz (1966) also emphasises the social aspects of religion. In particular, he stresses how religion and ritual can be used to construct social identities and reinforce ideas about the nature of the world and society’s place within it. For Geertz:



religion is (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz 1966: 4)

Geertz's definition makes no mention of the supernatural element that other authors have considered key to the nature of religion. Geertz's definition is somewhat vague but this is because he is attempting to create a description that can cover all known religions. If it were more specific, it could not be universal.

Rappaport's study was concerned primarily with ritual rather than religion. He identified three aspects of ritual activity. First, that it is composed of conventional, even stereotyped movements and postures. Second, that rituals are performed regularly, either at set intervals or for certain events (like births or deaths). Thirdly, that ritual has affective or emotional value (Rappaport 1971a: 62). According to Rappaport:

Religious rituals always involve, in addition to messages of social import, implicit or explicit reference to some idea, doctrine, or supernatural entity and may thus be distinguished from secular ritual (Rappaport 1971b: 29)

The importance of Rappaport's definition is that he does not suggest that religious ritual must always be directed towards the superhuman but may also be directed towards an idea or doctrine as well. He thus avoids the vagueness of Geertz's definition whilst avoiding limiting religion to being universally concerned with the superhuman or supernatural.

Catherine Bell has produced some of the most widely quoted modern work on ritual (1992, 1997). She developed a typology of ritual activity that included both secular and religious rituals (Bell 1997: 93-4). According to Bell, rituals have multiple meanings and messages that can modify and contradict each other (Bell 1997: 136). Rituals serve to reinforce values and stress the interrelated nature of things. They are used in situations where values and ideas are more binding on participants or observers if they seem to derive from "sources of power outside the immediate community" (Bell 1997: 136). Bell identified six characteristics of ritual activity or ritual-like activity: formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule governance, sacral-symbolism, and performance (Bell 1997: 138). The question that arises

for the present paper then is how we might distinguish religious from secular ritual in the archaeological record.

Leach has pointed out that nearly every human action that takes place in culturally defined surroundings has two key parts, a technical aspect (that does something) and an aesthetic or communicative aspect (that says something), each present in varying degrees depending on the nature of the action. Ritual activity has a particularly prominent aesthetic aspect but the technical aspect is never entirely absent (Leach 1968: 523).

### *Archaeological Approaches*

Joanna Brück expanded on Leach's point but she differs from it in that she thinks that the technical and aesthetic aspects of an action are in fact one and the same whereas Leach saw them as two distinct parts (Brück 1999: 325). Brück has pointed out that many societies do not distinguish ritual from secular action and that for the people performing rituals they were as practical and effective as any other action may have been (Brück 1999: 313). Brück is pessimistic about the ability of archaeologists to identify ritual in the archaeological record since rituals are not necessarily distinguished from secular activity by the participants (Brück 1999: 326). Brück's view of ritual is pragmatic almost to the extreme. She takes a directly contrasting viewpoint to many previous archaeologists who have seen ritual as something simply symbolic with no practical use, suggesting instead that ritual is always rational and logical; that it is always for a purpose. However, she does not discuss acts of ritual that are purely devotional, for example, where the practical aspect may have existed but may not have been obvious to the performers.

Garwood has pointed out the difficulty of interpreting ritual remains, such as the interpretation of deposits at a threshold (Garwood 2011: 271). He points out that thresholds can be significant in that they can mark a transition from one domain to another, and can thus be associated with rites of passage. He argues that architecture can serve to guide ritual action and thus deposits at thresholds for example can help us understand such rites (Garwood 2011: 271). However, he also points out that the interpretation of deposits depends very much on when during the ritual they are created for example whether it was on entering or leaving the sacred space (Garwood 2011: 271). Garwood has pointed out that the argument that it is impossible to differentiate ritual from other practices (for example Brück 1999) may be

indicative of the shortcomings of the approaches to ritual archaeology rather than a reflection of the facts (Garwood 2011: 277). He points out that any kind of ritual uses many stylistic features to set it apart from the everyday, for example the use of symbols, and because this distinction may utilise objects as well as other indicators, it may leave a trace in the archaeological record (Garwood 2011: 277). Ritual remains may then be seen in specific types of material culture or in distinctive spatial patterning of it or in architecture designed specifically to accommodate specific ritual actions (Garwood 2011: 277). The main problem for archaeologists, he points out, is that only certain parts of ritual actions will leave material traces, thus creating problems for the interpretation of ritual remains (Garwood 2011: 277). This is an important fact that is often overlooked when trying to reconstruct any archaeological evidence but in particular that which relates to ritual practices, that not everything survives and thus there will be gaps in our data.

Osborne's study on the dedication of objects highlights the difficulty in recognising that an object is indeed dedicated and not simply the product of everyday activity (Osborne 2004: 3). He points out that dedicated objects are an important piece of evidence about the past as they are a means of communication between a people and the supernatural. Furthermore, the exchange of material objects for "supernatural returns" can be both socially and economically significant (Osborne 2004: 2). He suggests that there are a number of indications that an object has been dedicated. Many votive objects share religious imagery, are made from precious materials, are found in a distinctive architectural context or as part of a concentration of non-functional items (Osborne 2004: 4). He points out that votive objects may have any or none of these characteristics and that many non-ritual objects may share these features. It is therefore important to consider a number of points in interpreting objects. Firstly, the overall corpus of objects should be considered, since a high concentration of a single type, even a seemingly everyday type, may point to a ritual significance. Secondly, it is important to take into account the context in which the object was found, and whether this seems unusual for the site or region. Thirdly, comparisons to other similar deposits in more explicit contexts should be made in an attempt to verify that a ritual interpretation is acceptable (Osborne 2004: 4).

Osborne also points out that there is a tendency to rely on texts for the interpretation of finds and to ignore or at least pay less attention to finds that cannot be explained by texts (Osborne 2004: 6). Indeed in the past textual evidence was our primary source of knowledge about past

religions. He acknowledges the importance of historical data in interpreting archaeology but also points out texts must be treated with caution since they may only portray one view of an event or may completely omit descriptions of what the author considered everyday occurrences. As ritual is simply one aspect of religion, so too are texts and the focus or purpose of the text must be considered when texts are used. Osborne's point is that archaeology and texts should be used to complement each other and that texts used in isolation can distort our interpretation of the archaeological data (Osborne 2004: 6).

Insoll has expressed dislike of the very term religion because of the immediate implication that religion is something tangible that can be clearly distinguished from everything else (Insoll 2004b: 7). This is a very important point for as was stated above with reference to Durkheim's sacred versus profane model of social life, religion permeates even the most basic aspects of human life; people do not cease in their beliefs and worldviews simply because they are not currently participating in a ritual, for example. Religion can affect and permeate potentially any aspect of life and thus we may be able to see its effects in the archaeological record in things other than religious buildings or overtly ritual objects (Insoll 2004b:18).

Renfrew has also pointed out that the idea of religion as a separate "dimension" of society may be a misconception (Renfrew 1994: 47). He also stresses the importance of individual religious experience (Renfrew 1994: 48). For Renfrew as for many other scholars the religion is not simply a general idea about the world and its origins but must relate to forces or entities that transcend the everyday world (Renfrew 1985: 12). The flaws in the argument that the superhuman aspect is essential to religion have already been discussed above. Renfrew's work on identifying ritual remains is probably the most widely quoted piece of research into this area. He makes a very important initial point that as archaeologists we have no direct access to the cult practices of the past, in particular to the meanings that these practices held for the practitioners (Renfrew (1985: 11). Renfrew states that:

religious activities are potentially open to observation only when they might be identifiable as religious by an observer at the time in question (Renfrew 1994: 47).

He also points out the difficulty derived from the fact that places and objects can be difficult to identify as religious when they may also have secular functions as well. Renfrew

developed a list of correlates that may indicate ritual activity in the archaeological record (Renfrew 1985: 19). He did point out that it takes more than just a checklist to positively identify ritual in the archaeological record. He also points out that secular rituals may be wrongly identified as religious or that other actions such as play can produce archaeological remains that look very similar to ritual (Renfrew 1985: 20). He also says that only archaeological assemblages that cannot be explained in secular terms, even if they do meet many of the criteria for ritual, should be identified as cultic (Renfrew 1985: 20). Renfrew's correlates then are:

1. Ritual takes place in a spot with special, natural associations (caves, springs etc.)
2. Or, ritual takes place in a special building
3. It may involve conspicuous public display, and hidden mysteries, both of which will be reflected in the architecture
4. Worship involves prayer and special movements which may be reflected in iconography
5. Ritual may employ various devices for inducing religious experience (Music, dance etc.)
6. Structure and equipment may employ attention focusing devices reflected in architecture and moveable equipment
7. Omnipotent power(s) may be reflected in cult image or aniconic representation
8. Special facilities for ritual practice may be present (benches, basins, hearths etc.)
9. Animal or human sacrifice may be practiced
10. Food and drink may be brought and/or consumed as offerings or burnt/poured away
11. Other objects may be brought as offerings, and may be broken during act of offering
12. Special portable equipment may be used e.g. lamps and receptacles
13. Sacred area likely to be rich in repeated symbols
14. Symbols often relate to deities worshipped and their myth, particularly animal symbolism
15. Symbolism used may relate to funerary ritual or other rites of passage
16. Concepts of cleanliness and pollution may be reflected in facilities and maintenance of sacred area
17. Great investment of wealth may be reflected in equipment used and offerings made
18. Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the building and its facilities (Renfrew 1985: 19-20).

Renfrew's list can seem somewhat confusing but the correlates can be condensed down into four key points. Firstly, we must consider the environment in which the ritual occurs. This includes the special place, manmade or natural, where the ritual occurs but also the equipment and facilities that enable the ritual. This place and equipment may be embellished with symbols relating to the ritual and the beliefs behind it. Secondly, the performance of the ritual itself, both in public and private, will relate to this space and equipment, and may involve sacrifices or offerings as well as other activities and speech. Symbols, if present may directly relate to the rituals being performed. Finally, the environment and the performance may represent a considerable investment of material wealth and rule governance (i.e. ideas of clean/unclean and the correct order for ritual activity etc.).

As Renfrew himself has pointed out this list is far from perfect and the problem of separating religious and secular ritual still remains (Renfrew 2007: 115) but these correlates at least give a starting point so that we may begin to identify ritual remains in the archaeological record. Renfrew's correlates also tie in with Bell's characteristics. Most of the items on Renfrew's list contain elements of formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, and rule governance. All of which can be seen in both the environment and the performance of rituals. Sacral Symbolism is clearly referred to, not only in embellishment with symbols but also in the differentiation of a sacred space compared to the rest of the world. Performance again clearly relates to the ritual activity itself, which will always involve performance of some form whether this is to a large or small audience.

Aldenderfer has stressed the importance of what religion does rather than the standard debate of what religion is (Aldenderfer 2012: 24). He points out that religion is a dynamic entity within all societies with roles and functions that overlap and often contradict each other (Aldenderfer 2012: 24). Like Geertz, he emphasises the social aspects of religion and the effects that religion has rather than what it is for example the ways that religion is conservative, promoting continuity of traditions, and transformative, prompting change (Aldenderfer 2012: 33). He points out that he is not attempting to deny the importance of studying ritual in the past but that ritual is only one aspect of religion and the effects of religion on the society in question are equally important (Aldenderfer 2012: 33). He is of course correct in stating that ritual is not the only aspect of religion but it must also be remembered that as archaeologists it is very often ritual that we deal with. While the social effects of religion are important as well, identifying such effects archaeologically can be

difficult. The less physical aspects of religion, transformation, and conservatism as discussed by Aldenderfer, as well as many other aspects such as speech, movement, and mythology, to name just a few, are often difficult, if not impossible to identify in the archaeological record. However, as Aldenderfer warns, we should not fall into the trap of seeing ritual and religion as interchangeable (Aldenderfer 2012: 24), it must be remembered that what we are able to observe in terms of religion in archaeology will always be incomplete.

Joyce has warned against definitions of terms like religion and ritual at all (Joyce 2012: 185), since by attempting to create a universal definition we overlook the individual features of the societies we are studying. She is of course correct but at the same time, it is necessary to define the terms used within a piece of research. Joyce believes that religion is not necessarily something we can define before we start a study but that we are offered snippets of information about religion which must be gathered together before we can perceive the whole picture (Joyce 2012: 187). It is, however, difficult to draw together pieces of evidence that may not initially appear to be religious in order to build up a complete picture of religion. The point here is that religion is often inseparable from other aspects of society and that in order to understand one of these aspects, be it religion or something else, we must also consider the society as a whole since both the religious, and secular (for want of better terms) influence each other.

The volume edited by Ian Hodder concerning religion at Çatalhöyük is the culmination of three years of work in which the interdisciplinary excavation team studied the role of religion in the emerging complex society evidenced at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2010: 1). The project was an experiment where scholars from different disciplines were brought in to interpret the evidence as it was excavated rather than separately at a later date, in an attempt to prevent loss of data between excavation and analysis (Hodder 2010: 1). The chapters in this book discuss everything from specific elements of belief, for example phallocentrism (Hodder & Meskell 2010), magic (Nakamura 2010), the Neolithic cosmos (Wason 2010) to more general ideas about religion (Shults 2010; van Huyssteen 2010; Whitehouse & Hodder 2010; Keane 2010) to whether religion existed at all at Çatalhöyük (Bloch 2010).

Shults argued against separating religious and “material” scholarship, suggesting that the study of spiritual life should not be left just to theologians while archaeologists deal with the material artefacts (Shults 2012: 74). Shults defines the “religious dimension” as:

a sphere of human life in which social groups tend to their fascination with and fear of ultimate boundedness, which shape and are shaped by all of the other dynamic modes of social (and material) binding and being bound (Shults 2010: 77)

For Shults rituals and other religious practices are concerned with controlling or binding the self or the community to the powers and forces that control ultimate boundaries (Shults 2010: 77). He believes that archaeologists can confirm their interpretations of certain artefacts or patterns as indications of human religious engagement by showing that they express an imaginative way of dealing with the conditions that shape the boundaries of everyday life, for example the defleshing of skulls as a means of dealing with death (Shults 2010: 91).

Van Huyssteen believes that we should not expect to find a clearly demarcated domain that can be identified as religious and that simplified distinctions between natural and supernatural, material and spiritual should be avoided (van Huyssteen 2010: 117). At Çatalhöyük, it is not only special artefacts but also daily material life in general (e.g. houses) that were infused with spirituality (van Huyssteen 2010: 117). He also believes that “religion cannot be discounted from any discussion of typical human behaviour” (van Huyssteen 2010: 120), that is to say that in order to understand a culture, we need to understand their belief system.

Kyriakidis emphasised the point that rituals are defined by the society that practice them, so if they are studied in isolation they will never be understood properly (Kyriakidis 2007a: 1). This is an important point: ritual is one aspect of religion (or secular activity) and without understanding something about the society performing the ritual we can never truly know what it means. The same is true of any archaeological evidence; it is only when it is treated as part of the larger corpus of evidence that it can be properly understood.

Because ritual is a repeated action, Kyriakidis believes that it should be more observable than other actions, provided of course that the repeated action is one that leaves a trace in the archaeological record (Kyriakidis 2007b: 9). This may be true, but it should be remembered that other actions could also be repetitive and leave traces in the archaeological record without being ritualised, for example food preparation. It is only when taken with other evidence as Kyriakidis already pointed out, that we can identify something as ritual. He also points out that similar ritual remains do not necessarily indicate that the same ritual is taking



place, particularly at different sites or when compared over a period of time (Kyriakidis 2007b: 11). He also points out the problem of objects in secondary contexts, which may have originally been used in rituals, but then discarded elsewhere, or even reused before deposition (Kyriakidis 2007b: 20).

### *Sacred space*

Another aspect of religious expression that is important to the present study is the idea of sacred space. Jonathan Smith discussed the idea of sacred space fairly extensively, especially the idea of the temple as a “focusing lens” where the ordinary becomes significant and sacred (Smith 1980: 115). Everyday actions and things become ritualised just by being in the sacred space. He goes on to define ritual as:

a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled course of things (Smith 1980: 125).

Smith’s ideas about sacred space are important for the archaeological study of religion because his point about the ordinary becoming sacred by being in a sacred space means that we should not necessarily expect to see unusual or special objects in a sacred space, that we may equally see objects that would not immediately suggest a ritual function.

A study by O’Sullivan and Young also looked at the idea of sacred space, discussing how an observation of the use of space in modern religions in Leicester can help us understand the use of sacred space in the past (O’Sullivan & Young 2012). They found that buildings are translations of faith not an embodiment of it (O’Sullivan & Young 2012: 350). They believe that the sacred is linked more to artefacts and their arrangement within a space, rather than the building itself (O’Sullivan & Young 2012: 350). They also note how the religious function of buildings is not necessarily permanent, the religious function of buildings can be created, altered, and adapted for new faiths or abandoned altogether (O’Sullivan & Young 2012: 349).

### *Summary- Identifying Religion and Ritual in the Archaeological Record*

From this brief discussion on the archaeology of religion and ritual it is clear that much debate exists on how, or even if, religion and ritual can be identified archaeology. Despite some of the negativity surrounding this field, the author believes that religious activities can be identified in the archaeological record and should be considered to be an important source of information about the past, provided the information is treated with caution and the term ritual is not simply applied to any unusual evidence.

Consideration of the following points may be indicative of religious activity in the archaeological record:

1. Religious spaces may be demarcated, either by buildings or some other boundary, and/or by the presence of symbols associated with the cult
2. There may be special or elaborately decorated artefacts present of types that are either rare or lacking in domestic spaces (e.g. kernoi, miniature vessels, incense stands)
3. Artefacts (whether special or not) may be found in unusually high concentrations within religious spaces indicating repeated activities, or, inversely artefacts which are common in domestic areas may be lacking or rare in religious spaces
4. Faunal/botanical remains may differ in terms of the species and/or body parts represented or in the ratios of these, compared to domestic areas
5. Items within religious spaces may be deposited in special ways (e.g. placed on benches, buried in pits,, destroyed by breaking or burning)

This list is by no means complete and there are admittedly many elements of religion and ritual that are not covered by it. Furthermore, the presence of these correlates is not automatically indicative of the presence of ritual activities. It does however serve as a guideline to the identification of ritual.

### *The spread of religion and ritual*

There have been a number of studies into the spread of religions, especially concerning the conversion of pagan peoples to world religions. These studies have particularly focused on Islam (e.g. Insoll 2003; Carvajal 2013), Christianity (e.g. Andr  n 2013; Peel 1968), and Buddhism (Shaw 2013; Chakrabarti 1995; Tadanao & Edwards 1995). Eller has pointed out that religion should not be seen as a “static and strictly conservative force” but rather a

“dynamic and basically adaptive one” (Eller 2007: 161). Despite this changing nature of religion, which adapts to new social or environmental situations for example, the religion will essentially be recognisable as the same. The changes are variations of the original religion, not a completely new religion (Eller 2007:165). The following paragraphs are concerned with the spread of three “world religions”; the mechanisms by which these religions spread and the archaeological indicators of the adoption of new religious beliefs.

### Buddhism

Shaw’s study into the spread of Buddhism in ancient India focuses on central India from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. onwards. She looks especially at how and why the saṅgha (the collective order of Buddhist monks) became integrated into the existing communities. She notes two apparently contradictory models for the relationship between the saṅgha and its socio-economic environment. Firstly, that Buddhism grew out of and encouraged urbanization by providing legitimization for non-Brahmin elites like merchants (Shaw 2013: 88). Secondly, that the Buddhist “preoccupation” with suffering was a reaction to social upheaval, poverty and sickness resulting from urbanization. Buddhism offered a way to cope with this suffering, with monks acting as mediators between political and economic forces (Shaw 2013: 89). The key point from both models is that Buddhism gains popularity as a reaction to socio-economic forces, either by its relationship with the elites associated with urbanization, or as a way for ordinary people to cope with this urbanization.

Shaw also notes that the saṅgha became associated with dams and irrigation projects because of its complex relationship with the laity (Shaw 2013: 93). Land/property would be gifted to the saṅgha, which the monks then managed, allowing access to local farmers who gifted a percentage of the yield back to the saṅgha who in turn paid a share back to the original patron (Shaw 2013: 93). She notes how this fits into functionalist views of religious change, i.e. that conversion to the new religion is not the primary aim but that as the new religion spreads with its mutually beneficial ways of managing farmland etc., the locals will align themselves to the new ideas, eventually accepting the religion (Shaw 2013: 93). Archaeologically, this can be seen because most of the recorded reservoirs are close to monastic sites which she believes is evidence that Buddhism spread as part of a larger package of urbanization and new forms of administration that required intensive agriculture (Shaw 2013: 100). She also notes that syncretism is evident to some degree by the presence of deity statues at Buddhist

sites continuing earlier local traditions which become “converted” or “conquered” by the Buddha and thus incorporated into the new religion (Shaw 2013: 96).

Chakrabarti emphasised the role of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. ruler Asoka in the spread of Buddhism across India (Chakrabarti 1995: 196). Prior to Asoka’s rule, Buddhism had been generally restricted to the north east of India but during and after his reign Buddhism began to spread relatively rapidly as noted by Shaw (see above). Buddhism was initially city based, with the majority of patrons being city dwellers including kings and merchants (Chakrabarti 1995: 194). He notes how Buddhism was attractive to elites, especially merchants and functionaries, because of its emphasis on personal actions and lifestyle for salvation (Chakrabarti 1995: 196). As a state that covered most of the Indian subcontinent was created under Asoka, and the new administration spread, so Buddhism also spread. Monks began to be sent out as missionaries and new monasteries began to be set up (Chakrabarti 1995: 196). Despite the collapse of this Mauryan state in the 2nd century B.C.E., Buddhist sites continued and continued to gain patronage of elites and monarchs well into 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Chakrabarti 1995: 200). As Shaw pointed out (2013), the patronage of elites was an important factor in the spread of Buddhism. As elites and their administrative systems spread, their religion will also spread.

A study into the spread of Buddhism into Japan by Yamamoto Tadanao and Walter Edwards also emphasises the importance of the political environment for the spread of Buddhism (Tadanao & Edwards 1995). Tadanao and Edwards show how Buddhism started to spread as the Soga clan, who had had close ties to immigrant families, rose to power (Tadanao & Edwards 1995: 339). Although the details of the Soga clan’s rise to power are not important here, the key point is that the foreign religion (Buddhism) becomes the state religion associated with the monarchy (Tadanao & Edwards 1995: 342). This study is interesting as it utilises archaeological evidence in the form of roof tiles to support the historical information. Initially the Buddhist temples employ roof tiles from many widely dispersed sites but as the construction of temples becomes increasingly state-sponsored, the tiles are sourced from groups of kilns built purposely to supply specific institutions (Tadanao & Edwards 1995: 342).

What can be gained from these studies into Buddhism then is that socio-economic and political factors are extremely important in facilitating its spread. While it gained popularity

initially because the beliefs about lifestyle being the path to salvation appealed to elites, it was not until a state formed, spreading new ideas about administration and urbanisation and requiring intensive land management to supply it that Buddhism also spread with the monks playing an increasingly important role in their community, economically and socially. In Japan, it was the rise of a particular political faction that allowed Buddhism to become a state religion, with it eventually becoming linked directly to the monarchy.

### Christianity

Religious change in Christianity has been studied relatively extensively, not only in terms of the Christianisation of pagan peoples (in antiquity and recent history), but also in terms of the adoption of different branches of Christianity, particularly relating to the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

Peel's study into the adoption of Christianity in western Nigeria was an attempt to move away from earlier studies that he believed overemphasised the role of syncretism in the adoption of new belief systems (Peel 1968). The earliest Yoruba Christians were freed slaves who had converted to Christianity before returning home (Peel 1968: 122). Christianity was associated with European culture and especially technology so there seems to have been an early interest in the Christians, even if the interest had little to do with the religion (Peel 1968: 122). The early Christians were accepted and tolerated even though the locals did not convert straight away (Peel 1968: 126). As Christianity was embraced, some elements of the existing Yoruba religion are continued into the adopted religion. Peel points out that these elements are almost always practical, for example traditional medicine, which had previously been associated with religious beliefs, continues into the later Christian period (Peel 1968: 127). Peel still admits that syncretism happens to a certain degree but he believes that because the elements of earlier culture that survive are "practical" rather than "religious" that it is not true syncretism.

Andrén has noted that in Scandinavia, many early churches were built on places that had earlier pre-Christian ritual associations, for example over earlier ritual buildings, natural ritual sites, and burial sites (Andrén 2013: 34-6). He does point out that many churches were built on places with no earlier ritual significance but that fact remains that a good number of churches were positioned on sites with earlier significance (Andrén 2013: 38). According to

Andrén, there are a number of possible reasons for this continuity. Many of the early churches were built on estates as a private initiative, estates which had previously featured pre-Christian ritual sites so the churches were built over the earlier sites (Andrén 2013: 40). In the case of the churches built over burial grounds Andrén believes that this is at least partially due to the fact that Christianity places great significance on death, in terms of sacrificial imagery, relics and martyrdom, and churches and graveyards have been closely linked in Christianity since antiquity, making association with earlier graves a natural progression (Andrén 2013: 41). Further, the appropriation of a non-Christian religious place by a church can be a way to appease locals by showing a flexible attitude to earlier religious beliefs. It also acts as a symbol of Christian domination for those who were more reluctant to accept the new religion (Andrén 2013: 41). Andrén has also pointed out that Norse religion and Christianity co-existed for at least 200 years, and even after the conversion, the old gods did not disappear but were rather redefined as demons or deified former rulers. The same was true of the heroes from pre-Christian mythologies, who were reinvented as guardians of the Church against evil forces (Andrén 2004: 12).

Swanson, in his study of the reformation in Europe, emphasised the role of political change in the spread of Protestantism in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Swanson 1967). He notes how after a series of expensive wars, resulting in weakened governments and the rise of independent kingdoms that had previously been united, Protestantism began to take hold (Swanson 1967: 245). That is not to say that people only converted for political reasons but the politics of the time was important. The Roman Catholic Church was seen to be increasingly corrupt and many leaders (perhaps most famously Henry VIII) were growing increasingly tired of Rome's interference in their affairs, for instance the payment of taxes to a far off power was extremely unpopular.

Wuthnow has noted how the early reformers in England and France were often traders, particularly in the textile industry, since these are the people who had the most contact with the European cities where Protestantism was already taking hold (Wuthnow 1989: 311). The key point is that the reformation in Europe took place against a backdrop of people disillusioned with the supremacy of Rome, and the perceived corruption of the church there. States were feeling the aftereffects of war that had left them poor, and this along with numerous other socio-political problems led people to accept Protestantism as a solution to the problems. Undoubtedly, some converts were genuinely attracted by the religious beliefs

that Protestantism had to offer, but certainly, the conversion of the ruling elite was more often the result of their political rather than spiritual views.

With the spread of Christianity then we see that often there is at least some degree of syncretism with the acceptance of this new religion by pagan peoples, whether by the continued use of ancient sacred spaces, or by the continuation of earlier ideas, now stripped of their pagan associations. We also see that politics plays an important role in the spread of Christianity. The earliest Scandinavian Christians were nobles and certainly, in the Reformation of Europe there were many political reasons that nobles and rulers accepted the new form of Christianity.

### Islam

Timothy Insoll has done extensive research into the spread of Islam into Africa (e.g. Insoll 2003; 2004c). He points out that there are a number of reasons for conversion. People usually assume that force is an important factor, which it is, but it is not the only, nor the most common reason for conversion (Insoll 2003: 398). Aside from people converting to Islam for purely religious reasons, Insoll cites trade as one of the key factors in the spread of Islam. Islam gave a common language and shared ideals to people along trade routes, thus facilitating access to prestige goods from further afield (Insoll 2003: 398). Trade allowed the spread of Islam whether by the conversion of the merchants themselves, or by the presence of missionaries who followed or accompanied the caravans (Insoll 2004c: 92). Politically, conversion to Islam could be advantageous because a ruler could then take advantage of the Islamic administrative systems that were so effective (Insoll 2003: 399).

Archaeologically, there are a number of indicators for the conversion to Islam that Insoll points out. He notes that archaeologists do not just have to look for the more obvious indicators like mosques and inscriptions, but to more subtle indicators (Insoll 2004c: 89). Since religion permeates through everyday life, then its influence will be seen at what we might consider to be secular levels (Insoll 2004b: 18). Potentially then religion can affect any aspect of life for example, diet, dress, domestic architecture, and settlement form (Insoll 2004c: 89). It seems for example that there is a correlation between the adoption of rectangular houses in West Africa and the conversion to Islam (Insoll 2004c: 96). Insoll believes that syncretism is especially important in the conversion of the poorer elements of

society who were generally farmers. These people tend to be the last to convert and usually follow an agricultural calendar to which traditional religious beliefs were tied (Insoll 2004c: 99). Syncretism allowed the continuation of the existing agricultural calendar but adapted to fit with Islamic beliefs (Insoll 2004c: 100).

José Carvajal's study of the Islamicization of south-eastern Spain is an interesting look at the social effects of conversion to Islam (Carvajal 2013). He found that there were four phases to the conversion of southern Spain, based on pottery types and settlement networks (Carvajal 2013:112). The first phase showed the introduction of new pottery styles but also the continuation of earlier types as well as some new settlements. In the second phase, the introduced pottery styles become more widespread, although many techniques are used to achieve similar looking results. In the third phase, many earlier settlements are abandoned, with the capital city expanding to accommodate the influx of people from these abandoned sites. The pottery manufacturing techniques become standardised since most potters are now located in the capital. The final phase is marked by a change in capital cities, to a more central position for the control of the new kingdom (Carvajal 2013: 112-3). Carvajal's study supports that of Insoll (2004c) by showing that it is not simply religious beliefs that change but also other aspects of life, for example, here, pottery production shows more and more Islamic influence.

Both trade and conquest are the mechanisms for the spread of Islam in these two examples. Archaeologically we know that there are obvious indicators that Islam has been adopted in a place, for example the building of a mosque, but there are also more subtle indications that individuals have converted to Islam for example a change in diet, a change in building styles, or a change in pottery styles.

In all three of the religions cited above it is clear that the spread of religions is based on more than simply the spiritual appeal of the religion in question, although this undoubtedly plays a role. We see that religious ideas spread along with other aspects of culture, for example technologies, administrative systems etc. Ideas can spread through a number of mechanisms; trade which exposes people to new ideas, conquest that may force the new beliefs on local people, and through purposeful missionary work where people set out to convert others. It is also apparent that socio-political situations can greatly affect the acceptance, or not, of new religious beliefs.



## Summary

The above is a necessarily concise review of previous research into religion. The key points made by many of these works are that religion has a supernatural or at least superhuman element, a point that may initially seem valid, but has been shown to be problematic and certainly not a universal aspect of religion. Atheistic religions are the exception however, and certainly, for the present study, we can accept the presence of deities and supernatural entities since we have textual and iconographic evidence that refers to them from the ancient near east. There has also been an emphasis on the social effects of religion with many scholars focusing on this rather than the more obvious question of what religion is. We have seen that religion serves to reinforce ideas about the order of the world, both human society and the natural world more generally.

We have also seen that divisions between religious and secular spheres of life are blurred and rarely segregated by believers even in the modern western world. As Joyce pointed out, attempting to create a universal definition of religion is both impossible and defeats the object of studying religions, however, the terms used within this research need to be defined. For the purposes of this research at least, religion is defined as a system of beliefs about the reality or realities inhabited by adherents. It is not a single entity as we may often think, but a collection of ideas, myths, rituals, actions etc. These beliefs are culturally defined, rituals, for example, can be outlined by society, but religion is also personal and individually defined, at least to some degree, so the exact beliefs and experiences will vary from person to person. In the ancient Near East, we do know that gods were worshipped so we know that the supernatural was an important aspect of religion in this area, but not necessarily so elsewhere.

We have seen that ritual is by no means exclusively religious. Nor are the terms religion and ritual interchangeable despite the fact that they are often carelessly used as such. Ritual may be *an* expression of religious beliefs but is not *the* expression of them. When ritual is referred to in this paper it is defined as a structured act, set apart from the everyday by the participants. Although Brück's point about the practicality of rituals and the inseparability from other action is well taken it, seems that at least some rituals marked as exclusively religious and thus clearly separated by the participants, will be recognisable as such by the observer, despite the fact that the boundary between ritual and other activities is not always clear. For the present study, we know with confidence that at least some of Renfrew's

indicators of ritual will be useful. We know for instance that ritual activity in the Bronze Age Levant took place in special places, namely temples. We also know that within these temples therefore, there will be an accumulation of debris from the repetition of ritual activity since at least some of the rituals are known from texts to be conducted daily and many others are calendrical, that is repeated at set intervals throughout the year. Iconography may help us to some degree but it should also be noted that images of deities, for example, can also be present in palaces as well as temples, and the cult images themselves, although we know that they existed, do not survive since the precious metals they were made from were looted in antiquity.

We need to understand that if indeed we can identify ritual activity in the archaeological we are only looking at one part of the vast whole that is religious beliefs. While we may be able to comprehend some of the nature of religious beliefs by the ritual that accompanied it, we will never really be able to understand all of the complex symbols and ideas evoked by ritual activity. It must also be remembered that religious experience will vary from individual to individual so even if we are fortunate enough to have texts that describe rituals and beliefs, as outsiders removed from the society in question we are never going to be able to fully understand the religion we are attempting to study. Although this sounds like a pessimistic point of view, it is not intended to imply that the study of religion in the past is a pointless pursuit it is simply intended to show that caution must be used when we are attempting to reconstruct ancient beliefs.

## CHAPTER 3

### TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

Most previous research into the temples *in antis* has focused on the distinctive architecture. There are a number of reasons for this, not least the fact that systematic analysis of finds was not a standard in early excavations and many analyses, for example the identification of species of animal bones was in its infancy and not considered to be of particular interest. Furthermore, many of the early archaeologists were simply more concerned about the architecture of the buildings than the objects excavated inside them. Finds from early excavations were often largely ignored unless they were complete or exhibited fine artisanship for example, and the finds from temples were no different. Temples *in antis* were afforded special significance by many scholars because of the similarity between the plans of these temples and the plan of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem as described in the Bible (e.g. 1 K 6). This led many people to cite the temples *in antis* as the forerunners of the Jerusalem Temple (e.g. G. R. H. Wright 1971: 32; A. Mazar 1992: 184).

There are a number of discussions of Levantine temple architecture. This chapter provides a critique of the key works on temples *in antis* to provide a background for the present research. It will also look briefly at the relevant contemporary textual sources for evidence about temple building in this period.

#### Previous Research

G. R. H Wright's 1971 article is one of the most widely quoted pieces of research into Temples. In it, he presents descriptions of the known "Pre-Israelite" temples from the southern Levant and attempts to classify them into types. He identifies four main types of temple design: long, broad, square, and bent axis (Wright 1971: 18; fig.1). The *Langbau/langraum* (long building/room) is characterised by a rectilinear plan with the entrance in the centre of a short side and the focus of cult opposite (Wright 1971: 18; fig.1). The *Breitbau/breitraum* (broad building/room) is characterised by a rectilinear plan with the entrance in the centre of a long side and the focus of the cult opposite (Wright 1971: 18; fig.1). The *Knickachse* (bent axis) is characterised by a rectilinear plan with the entrance at one end of a long side and the focus of cult on the short wall furthest away (Wright 1971: 18;

fig.1). Finally, the Square Plan is characterised by all the axes being equally important (i.e. centralised focus) (Wright 1971: 18; fig.1). Wright later notes that it is the *knickachse* and the *langbau* that are most common in Palestine (Wright 1971: 25). Wright acknowledges the debate over the validity of dividing the temples up into types in this way. However, he suggests that if categories can be found in these building plans it is “likely they result from man’s conscious artistry” (Wright 1971: 19), provided of course that they do not relate to a technicality of the planning process (i.e. the amount of space available). This is an interesting point because if he is correct then any peculiarities in the temple plans are meaningful, whether as an aesthetic consideration or as a practicality of cultic activities for example.

Wright’s discussion of the *in antis* temples is rather sparse, probably a result of the few examples known from Palestine at the time he was writing. He points out the similarities between the Middle Bronze temples *in antis* at Megiddo and Shechem and the “megara” at Early Bronze Megiddo (Wright 1971: 25) and suggests that the megara are transitional because they share characteristics with later and earlier temples (i.e. broad room plan and antae) (Wright 1971: 28). *Megaron* is a term borrowed from classical archaeology commonly used to refer to an *in antis* type building (K. Werner 1993: 4). It is often used to describe the Early Bronze Age temples at Megiddo for example, despite these having a broad room plan and the Aegean megara having a long room plan.

Wright suggests that the temples at Shechem and Megiddo (Str. 10-7a) should be called *Migdol* or Tower Temples (Wright 1971: 25), following B. Mazar (1968: 92) equating them with the *migdals* mentioned in the bible (e.g. Jg 9:46-49). Wright keeps the “*migdol*” temples of Megiddo and Shechem separate from the Area H Temple at Hazor, instead classing it as the same type as the Lachish Fosse Temple and the Beth Shan Temples on the basis that it is compartmentalised unlike the Megiddo and Shechem examples (Wright 1971: 25-8). He suggests that these examples may constitute a “Canaanite or Syrian Temple Type” (Wright 1971: 25), pointing out that this type is widespread in Northern Syria as well as in Palestine (Wright 1971: 29). However the temples at Lachish and Beth Shan are irregular in plan and do not seem to share features with the Hazor H temple. In addition, the presence of antae in the form of towers in the plan of the Hazor H Temple and the Megiddo and Shechem “*migdals*” would seem to suggest a closer relationship between these temples than between Hazor, Lachish, and Beth Shan.

Wright concludes that the *knickachse* type is more common in Palestine in earlier periods but in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the long room temples (in various forms) become predominant (Wright 1971: 20). He also points out that both the *knickachse* and the *langbau* temple plans are “very anciently established in the region” and that there is no evidence of influences from Mesopotamia or Egypt on the plans (Wright 1971: 30). Wright offers no in depth explanation of the significance of the different temple plans but in fairness he only set out to present the architectural features of the temples, and thus he could only ever look at possible origins or influences on the building style based on shared features across the ancient near east. With reference to the *knickachse* and *langbau* temple plans, he offers the following explanation:

the origin and meaning of these two traditions are not explicable on the facts adduced. The differentiation between the types cannot be explained wholly and solely on regional, ethnic, religious (ritual) or chronological grounds. Doubtless the two types reflect some original difference in religious practices but, apparently, they come to be employed for many different forms of worship (Wright 1971: 32).

The problem here is that Wright offers no evidence for the suggestion that the different temple plans reflect different religious beliefs he merely assumes that this is the case. His whole paper is based on the architecture of various temples, he does not discuss the finds from the temples, and he only mentions texts in passing and not in reference to ritual activity in these buildings.

One final point to make about Wright’s paper is that he believes that the research is of importance because it studies the background to the building of Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem, which he describes as the “most awesome material expression of man’s religious sensibilities” (Wright 1971: 17). Wright believed that the Israelites adopted much of the existing culture of the Canaanites when they arrived in Palestine, including temple building traditions (Wright 1971: 17). In his conclusion, Wright notes that the *langbau* temple survives into later periods and that it is this plan that is used for the Temple in Jerusalem (Wright 1971: 32). Whatever the reasons for it, the description of Solomon’s Temple in the bible (e.g. 1 K 6; 2 Chr 3) does seem to tally with the plans of the temples *in antis*.

G. R. H. Wright later wrote a volume entitled *Ancient Building of South Syria and Palestine* (1985) which includes a chapter dedicated to temples. Wright notes the difficulty of identifying buildings as temples with any certainty, stating that the identification

is, or can be, based on three sources of information (that is if it is based on anything at all more than wishful thinking): the plan, the installations, the ‘finds’ (Wright 1985: 225)

He then notes that “finds”, in which he includes inscriptions, iconography, and utensils, are not to be discussed in his study. The installations, he notes, merge into the plan and should thus be “crucial in determining the religious nature of the building” but that the nature of installations is often too speculative to allow proper interpretations. As a result it is the plan of the building that identifies it as a temple since “when a type of plan has been established as a temple plan, it is not difficult to recognise it in the archaeological remains” (Wright 1985: 225). Although Wright is correct in pointing out the difficulties of recognising installations as specifically cultic, his suggestion that the plan is the only way to truly recognise a cultic building is flawed. A plan must initially be established as cultic before it can then be recognised as a temple plan when seen elsewhere and in order to do this the finds and installations must be used. Furthermore, many temple plans can vary and while there may be some plans which are repeated (i.e. the temple *in antis*), there are others that are unique and yet still considered cultic as Wright himself later notes (Wright 1985: 227). Many temple plans are very simple consisting of a single rectilinear room for instance, which could be easily replicated unintentionally, if we looked at plans alone we may miss some temples whilst discovering other ‘temples’ that are in fact storerooms or houses for example that happen to have a similar plan to known temples. It would seem that the identification of a building as cultic should be based on all the evidence available not just one aspect of it.

Rudolph Dornemann’s MA thesis, also attempted to create a typology of Levantine temples (Dornemann 1965). His typology divided the temples into axial (symmetrical temples), most of which are temples in antis, with the exception of the Beth Shan temples, indirect approach (bent axis) temples, and temples with raised or sunken chapels (which are relatively rare). Most of the thesis is given over to defining and describing the different types and the individual examples of them but Dornemann’s conclusion notes that axial temples are by far the most common type in the Levant throughout the Bronze Age. He notes that the frequency of the type suggests that it is a traditional style of temple building in the Levant (Dornemann

1965: 196-197). Dornemann offered the first comprehensive catalogue of temple architecture from the Levant, and it is an excellent survey of the temples known at the time, however as he himself points out, to properly understand the temples and the activities going on inside them, we need to study the finds as well as the architecture (Dornemann 1965: iii).

Amihai Mazar's chapter on temples from the Bronze and Iron Ages (1992) gives a comprehensive overview of the architectural data of temples generally and of arguments concerning the origins of the temples *in antis*. Mazar classes the temples *in antis* as "Monumental Symmetrical Temples" in which he also includes some temples without antae. There is possibly some justification in this since it is possible that the addition of antae is purely aesthetical and that the central axial alignment of these temples is more important. Temples *in antis* may simply be a variation on the centrally aligned plan and not a completely separate type. Amihai Mazar follows Benjamin Mazar (1968) and G. R. H. Wright (1971) in seeing the origins of the monumental symmetrical temple in third millennium Syria (Mazar 1992: 167). He suggests that the *in antis* buildings at Hazor H and Alalakh are a separate subtype of the monumental symmetrical temple because they are *breitraum* and not *langraum* in plan (Mazar 1992: 169). He also suggests that the presence of the long and broad subtypes reflect a continuation of styles from third millennium Syria and Canaan, the long room being Syrian and the broad room Canaanite (Mazar 1992: 169). It is certainly true that there is an Early Bronze Age precedent for the broad room temple in Palestine and Early Bronze Age long rooms exist in Syria but the broad room only continues at Hazor H, Alalakh, and Ebla (though the temple of the Rock is more square than broad roomed). It seems interesting that the "Canaanite" broad room temple should only continue in the northern parts of the region where the Early Bronze Age precedent had been for long rooms. Furthermore, it is unclear whether there should be cultural significance attached to the broad and long room plans since at both Hazor and Ebla there are temples with both long and broad plans.

Ottosson's work of 1980 presented a systematic discussion of temples from Palestine from the Early Bronze to the Iron Age. Ottosson does not treat the temples *in antis* as a single entity, like G. R. H. Wright (1971) he keeps the Hazor H temple separate from the Megiddo and Shechem *in antis* buildings, which he classes as *langhaus* temples along with the Long Temple at Hazor. He notes that the *langhaus* buildings of the Middle Bronze III-Late Bronze II have "very heavy walls" and that they are thus named *Migdal*-temples (Ottosson 1980: 53). The exception is the Long Temple at Hazor because its walls are only half the thickness of

the Megiddo and Shechem buildings. Ottosson mentions this point only briefly along with the lack of towers flanking the entrance to Hazor's Long Temple and seems to consider these factors to be of minimal importance, believing the *langhaus* plan to be the more important characteristic (Ottosson 1980: 60, 61). In discussing the Shechem temples Ottosson points out that "the architecture of the *migdal*-buildings yields no direct evidence that they were used as temples" (Ottosson 1980: 58). However, Ottosson believes that they are temples because

a temple would usually have a court equipped for the worship of the laity. This was also the case at Shechem, which definitely proves that the *migdal*-structures are temples (Ottosson 1980: 59).

The idea that the presence of a court in front of a building allows it to be identified as a temple is not necessarily convincing. It is true that many of the buildings identified as temples in the ancient Levant do have courtyards and thus that an open space in front of the building may have been an important element of temple design in this region. However, the identification should be made based on the finds and the architecture as a whole, not just the presence of a courtyard.

He suggests that Temple 2 at Shechem and the Long Temple at Hazor are of the same broad type (Ottosson 1980: 61), though this seems purely speculative and thus should probably be treated with caution. The identification of "Temple 2" as cultic is by no means certain and seems to be based on the assumption that because it is built directly over the temples *in antis* that this building must also be cultic. Ottosson suggests that the door to Temple 2 is in on the eastern short wall, not the long wall as was suggested by the excavators, which would make this a *langhaus* building without towers like the Long Temple. He suggests that if this is true, then it makes these two buildings "depraved copies of the *migdal*-structures" (Ottosson 1980: 61). Ottosson notes that the orientation of the temples, from the Early Bronze to the Iron Age, does not seem to follow any particular pattern (Ottosson 1980: 115) although Castel pointed out that the temples she studied seem to have a tendency for broadly east facing entrances (Castel 2010: 135). Whether this is a pattern or a coincidence however is not clear. Ottosson suggests that the orientation was chosen to fit into the town plan rather than having any religious significance (Ottosson 1980: 117) which would seem to be a valid suggestion, if one that is difficult to prove.



In terms of the origin of the “*migdal*-temple”, Ottosson states that the *langhaus* plan is as old as the *breitraum* plan so there is no point in trying to trace the development of the type (Ottosson 1980: 61) but also notes that the *langhaus* type is “obviously of northern provenance” (Ottosson 1980: 115). Ottosson states that the buildings must be judged in relation to the Middle Bronze II defence systems, which were considerably strong, compared to the defences earlier and later (Ottosson 1980: 61). He suggests that the thick walls make these buildings “very safe storage temples” (Ottosson 1980: 61). He also discusses briefly the temples at Tell Kittan, which he suggests had a temple *in antis* because, if it were a site used by travellers, then a safe warehouse under divine protection would have been important (Ottosson 1980: 62). While this idea about the strength of the walls being of primary importance cannot be disputed, since the thick walls certainly made these buildings strong, it cannot be stated with certainty that the reason for the thick walls was primarily defensive. It could simply be that the thickness of the walls was necessary to support the height of the buildings, which may have been a purely aesthetic consideration, or could have been to ensure visibility of the temple or to make a statement about the power of the builders. Whatever the reason for the thick walls, defence is only one possible explanation.

Shemuel Yeivin presented a paper (1968) in which he suggested the possibility that Canaanite temples had been influenced by the influx of Aegean people and ideas (Yeivin 1968: 1130). Most of the temples Yeivin considered were not temples *in antis* since at the time he was writing, only the temples *in antis* from Shechem, Megiddo, and Hazor were known in the southern Levant, all the rest were of different plans (Yeivin 1968: Table A). Yeivin suggests that there is a sudden change in the style of temples at the beginning of the “Canaanite” period, ca. 2200 B.C.E. according to his dating (Yeivin 1968: 1130). However, in truth the styles of temple in this period are highly varied, the majority known at the time Yeivin was writing were broad rooms as he himself points out (1968: 1130), a style which can be traced back to the Chalcolithic (see for example Wright 1971). The evidence does not seem to suggest a sudden change in the styles of temple building. He makes an interesting point about the orientation of temples, suggesting that they are orientated to face nearby mountains, referencing the fact that in Ugaritic mythology the deities lived on a mountain (Yeivin 1968: 1135). This is an interesting point but one that is difficult to prove. Yeivin then goes on to ask whether the change he perceives may be due to the influx of Aegean peoples (i.e. the Sea People) around this time. However, the only site Yeivin gives as evidence for the influx of Sea Peoples having an effect on the religious architecture is Beth

Beth Shan because the temple of stratum V had a westward facing entrance unlike the earlier temples at the site (Yeivin 1968: 1135-1136). Yeivin considered this to be evidence of Aegean influence, particularly because there was reportedly a Philistine garrison stationed at Beth Shan (Yeivin 1968: 1136). If this is the case and the East-West orientation of the Beth Shan temples is evidence of foreign influence then it would seem to suggest that the other temples in his list were uninfluenced by outsiders. Apart from the last phase of the Lachish Fosse temple, for which the location of the entrance cannot be confirmed, no other temples in his list have west-facing entrances. His table incorrectly lists Shechem as having a southwest facing entrance when in fact it faces to the southeast. Furthermore, the stratum IX temple at Beth Shan seems to have a west facing entrance so perhaps the stratum V temple was simply reverting to this earlier tradition. Yeivin only set out to ask a question about the possibility of Aegean influence on Levantine temples, not to answer the question, however, because there is only Beth Shan that he cites as evidence for the sudden change in temple styles his suggestion that there is a widespread change in temple building is questionable. Furthermore, although Sea Peoples are known from earlier periods it seems that they did not appear in the Levant en masse until the end of the Late Bronze Age/beginning of the Iron Age (e.g. Mazar 1992b: 302; Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 359), a period roughly 1000 years after the period of change that Yeivin is discussing here.

Bonfil wrote an extensive comparative chapter with the purpose of placing the Hazor temples in context (Bonfil 1997). Bonfil draws attention initially to the fact that the Hazor temples are all aligned differently and raises the question as to whether the orientation was insignificant or related to specific cults (Bonfil 1997: 86). She correctly points out that despite previous attempts to attach significance to the orientation, e.g. east facing doors meaning that the sun god was worshipped, it is impossible to know both what deities were worshipped and whether the orientation was actually related to this (Bonfil 1997: 86). She classes Hazor H as a *breithaus* temple and notes the differences between it and the Long Temple in the broad cella, antechamber, and towers. However, she also points out the similarities between the two with the central alignment of doors and cult focus, the thickness of the walls and the evidence for cultic activity in the temple forecourt (Bonfil 1997: 88). Thus, she seems inclined to Mazar's view that the Long Temple and Hazor H belong to separate subtypes of one overall style. In presenting other *langhaus* temples from Israel, she notes that they all vary to some degree although she notes some common features, namely the building on an artificial fill, the thickness of the walls, and the presence of courtyards (Bonfil

1997: 93). She notes that the langhaus type are first built at the end of Middle Bronze II in Israel but continue in use for varying amounts of time (Bonfil 1997: 93). She also points out like others before her that there is an Early Bronze Age precedent for langhaus temples in Syria and that the origins of the type should thus be sought here (Bonfil 1997: 98). Bonfil does not see the lack of antae on the Long Temple as a problem and focuses on the long room plan rather than the porch or lack thereof as the defining characteristic. In this, she may be correct and this research considers the Long Temple to be a variation of the temples *in antis*.

Busink produced an extensive study of the temple in Jerusalem. The first part of the book is unsurprisingly dedicated to a full description of the Temple in Jerusalem based on the biblical accounts (Busink 1970). The second part of his book however seeks to find the origins of the architectural style by comparing it to temples from all over the Levant, from all periods. Busink's study is extremely comprehensive citing examples as far back as the Neolithic (Busink 1970: 358). He does not confine himself to temples *in antis* but considers all types of religious and even simply monumental architecture. When discussing the origins of Solomon's temple he believes that the origins of the long room plan can be found in the southern Levant rather than looking to the north for influences. He cites the fact that there is a building at Neolithic Jericho, which has a plan similar to an *in antis* building, as well as the temples at Beth Shan, Megiddo, and Shechem as influences because of their long room cella (Busink 1970: 592). He does however believe that the porch with pillars and the central axial alignment of the temples are probably Phoenician in origin (Busink 1970: 617).

He ultimately believes that the Jerusalem temple is a completely "Solomonic creation" (Busink 1970: 617). Busink's suggestion that the influences for the Jerusalem temple can be found in the temples that already existed in the southern Levant may be correct, however other people have suggested that the origins for these temples were in the north and the similarities between the northern and southern temples *in antis* are undeniable. As Wright (1971) pointed out, the Jericho building was too far removed chronologically from the Bronze and Iron Age temples to be used as evidence of a local tradition for long roomed temples in the southern Levant, particularly because after this building there are no long roomed cultic buildings in this region until the Middle Bronze Age.

Mierse based his definition of a temple firstly on the architecture, that is, that the building had an unusual structure compared to other buildings at the same site (in terms of architectural plan or special building materials/techniques). Secondly, the objects within the temple would

be unusual or out of place, (i.e. that they were particularly precious or abundant or had a purely ritual function/cultic significance) (Mierse 2012: 6). Mierse's book considers the temples over time. He is particularly interested in how temple areas may remain in use over long periods of time and notes that at many sites there is a continued use of cult areas from the Early Bronze to the Iron Age (Mierse 2012: 156). Mierse discusses the idea of cultural resurgence when colonisation ends, as seen in temples. For example, he notes that the Level III temple at Alalakh is a very different type to the other temples at Alalakh, and this apparently coincides with Hittite domination of the city. As soon as the Hittites left, a new temple is built which seems to follow the original plans (Mierse 2012: 142). He discusses the idea that there may have therefore been a specific cultural identity attached to the direct axis temples such as the in antis buildings at Alalakh (Mierse 2012: 143).

### **Temple Building in Texts**

Unfortunately, unlike in Mesopotamia and Egypt, texts generally do not survive in the Levant. What we do have are isolated collections of texts mainly from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible. Some of the Syrian sites have produced texts (e.g. Mari and Ebla) but references to temple building are lacking. Furthermore, in Mesopotamia for example, foundation deposits in the temples provide descriptions of the building of the temple however, in the Levant these types of texts are never found (Pitard 2010: 91). Hurowitz outlined a six-point list of components in ancient Near Eastern building accounts, found consistently both in Mesopotamian and Levantine texts:

- 1) The decision to build
- 2) Preparations (acquiring workmen and materials)
- 3) Description of the building
- 4) Dedication of the building
- 5) Blessing/prayer of king
- 6) Blessing/curses for future generations (in the event of desecration etc.)

The sixth point is not always included but the other points are usually present (Hurowitz 1992: 64; 126). Hurowitz points out that this list is more a reflection of scribal conventions than an accurate description of the building since there are no descriptions of problems arising during the construction for example, which would be expected in any building project (Hurowitz 1992: 128). It seems significant that this formula is found from the Sumerian texts

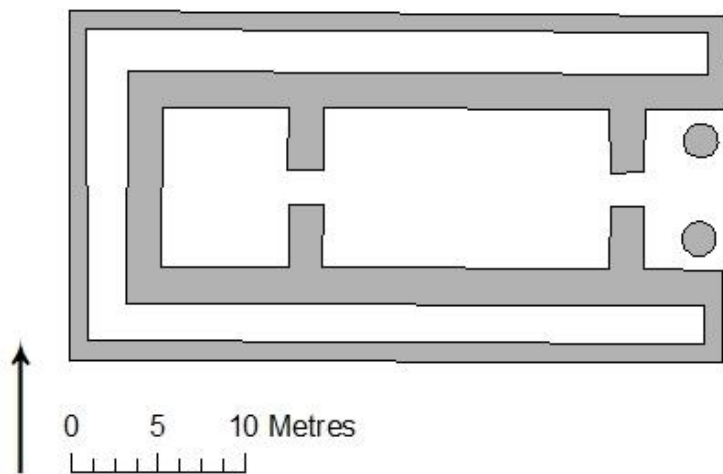
right through to the Hebrew Bible, suggesting the concept of a temple may have remained relatively unchanged in this region for a very long time.

The most extensive temple building account from the Levant outside of the Bible is the Ugaritic Baal Cycle. This describes Baal's conflict with Yamm, his subsequent building of a palace and his later conflict with Mot (Pitard 2010: 93). When Baal wants to build his palace he must first obtain permission from the chief deity, then acquire building materials and appoint an artisan, then dedicate the completed palace, complying with Hurowitz's formula (Pitard 2010: 96). Pitard suggests that the process would be the same for the building of a temple since the temple in the Ancient Near East was considered an abode for the deity (Pitard 2010: 96). The description of the actual building in the Baal Cycle is very vague since the palace only forms part of the whole narrative. There are brief references to the acquisition of Lebanese cedars for the building and that the final palace was built of silver and gold (Wyatt 1998: 106). Mesopotamian texts sometimes give detailed descriptions of aspects of buildings, usually in the form of lists but dimensions are rarely given (Hurowitz 2010: 293).

The building of Solomon's Temple on the other hand has a very detailed description of the dimensions and appearance of the building and its furnishings. Many scholars take the text literally and there have been many attempts to reconstruct Solomon's Temple (e.g. G. E. Wright 1941; Garber 1951). Hurowitz believes that this difference in detail derives from the function of the different texts. In the Mesopotamian texts for example, the purpose is to show the great works of the ruler whereas in the Biblical account the emphasis is on how the building will function as a focus of cult and the dwelling of Yahweh (Hurowitz 2010: 301-302). Disappointingly, in terms of the architecture of the temples, the texts can offer little explanation for the temples *in antis* or for temple building more generally. However, they can give us information about the traditional ideas surrounding temple building such as gaining permission to build from the deity and dedicating the temple once it is complete, which are important if we are to understand the significance of the temple in ancient societies.

### *Jerusalem (Solomon's Temple)*

Since we have been discussing temple building in texts it seems relevant now to briefly discuss one of the most famous temples in history, and also one of the most obscure, Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Temple is not known from archaeology since



**Figure 2- Reconstruction of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem based on Biblical description (1 Kg 6)**

the site is now occupied by the Dome of the Rock, making archaeological investigation impossible. Many previous scholars have included it in their catalogues (e.g. Mazar 1992: 183-184) and it seems important to consider what the biblical text can tell us about temples in the Levant, as long as the text is used with caution. According to the description in the Bible (1 K 6; 2 Chr 3), Solomon's Temple was built with an open porch (the *Ulam*) that was the same width as the temple (20 cubits) and 10 cubits deep. There was a main hall (the *Hekal*) which was 40 cubits long, and a 'holy-of-holies' (the *Debir*) which was 20 cubits long. The height of the *Debir* is less than the height of the rest of the building suggesting that it was raised above the level of the main hall floor (Fritz 1977: 14) probably being accessed by a step or steps as is seen in the temples at Tell Ta'yinat.

The temple also had annexes or side chambers around the walls, which have been equated to the hallway around the 'Ain Dara temple (Monson 2000: 26) and can also be seen in the AI temple at Tell Afis and possibly the Black Building at Hazor. Because of the ratio of the walls creating a narrow building, Kuschke thought that the temples of Megiddo and Shechem should be disregarded as parallels for the Jerusalem Temple; rather the temple at Ta'yinat was more similar proportionally, although he admitted that a direct parallel was still to be found (Kuschke 1967:132). In reality of course it is difficult to draw comparisons between the catalogue of excavated temples and a temple only known from texts whose precise plan is open to interpretation. Kuschke seems correct in proposing that the closest parallel to the temple as described in the text is Ta'yinat. However, this research proposes that the Ta'yinat temple is of the same broad family as the other identified temples in antis (see gazetteer

below, Chapter 4) and as such the Jerusalem Temple, if it can indeed be reconstructed as proposed here, would seem also to belong to this category.

### **Characteristics of the temple *in antis***

Having reviewed previous research concerning temple architecture in the ancient Near East, it is now necessary to discuss in more detail the characteristics of the temple *in antis*, that is the focus of this study, since this has only been touched upon up to this point in this research. Temple *in antis* is a term borrowed from classical architecture referring to the fact that the side walls of a building (especially a temple) extend beyond the end wall as antae (projections) forming a “porch” in front of the main room (Parker 1905: 13). The temples are aligned centrally, that is to say the entrance is in the centre of one side and the focus of the cult (e.g. the statue of the deity) is directly opposite on the back wall. The form of the cult focus varies; in some of the temples there is a niche in the rear wall, in other examples there is a platform (Kamlah 2012: 523). Many of the temples have a long room plan meaning that the entrance is in one of the short walls, but some have a broad or almost square room plan.

Most have a single main room (or cella) though some examples have an antechamber and some have pillars dividing the space. It is possible, but not evidenced, that there may have been screens or curtains in a perishable material that divided up the internal space of the single roomed buildings as at ‘Ain Dara for example, sockets have been found in the stonework that could have supported wooden poles for a screen (Monson 2000: 27). In many of the buildings the walls are extremely thick, suggesting that there may have been a second storey or at least that the walls were of considerable height. The antae are not consistent in plan. In some of the buildings they are simply continuations of the sidewalls, in others they are L-shaped, enclosing the porch further. In other examples, the antae are widened and some of them have towers with possible stairwells inside, which may again suggest a second storey or that access to the roof was needed.

As the Gazetteer of temples (Chapter 4 below) will show, the category of temple *in antis* is by no means as straightforward as initially thought. The temple plans vary at all the sites in the form of the antae, the shape of the cella, the style of the cult focus and the orientation. That said, there are common features to the temples in the symmetrical plan, the presence of a courtyard, and the presence of antae in whatever form. The orientation, although varied, does

have an inclination towards northeast, east, and southeast facing entrances, although as noted by previous authors, the significance of this is unclear. The location of the temples also seems significant. In the Middle Bronze Age, there is a tendency for temples to be built near palaces for example at Megiddo and Alalakh, but later the palaces are moved away from the temples. In the Iron Age however, at Ta'yinat, Carchemish and apparently also Jerusalem, the palace and temple are adjacent.

## Terminology

It is worth clarifying at this point the terminology used to describe these temples. A number of names have been given to them, the most common being *Migdal*-Temple and temple *in antis* (German *Antentempel*, French *temple à antes*). The term *Migdal* (or *Migdol*) is generally only used to describe temples *in antis* in Palestine because of its biblical associations. *Migdal* is a Hebrew word that means tower (Burke 2007: 36) or fortress (Wright 1965: 94; Mazar 1968: 92). The word was lifted directly from the Bible where there are a number of references to *Migdals*, and the term came to be associated with the temples in the late 1960s after G. E. Wright (1965: 94) and Benjamin Mazar (1968: 92) referred to *Migdal*-Temples.

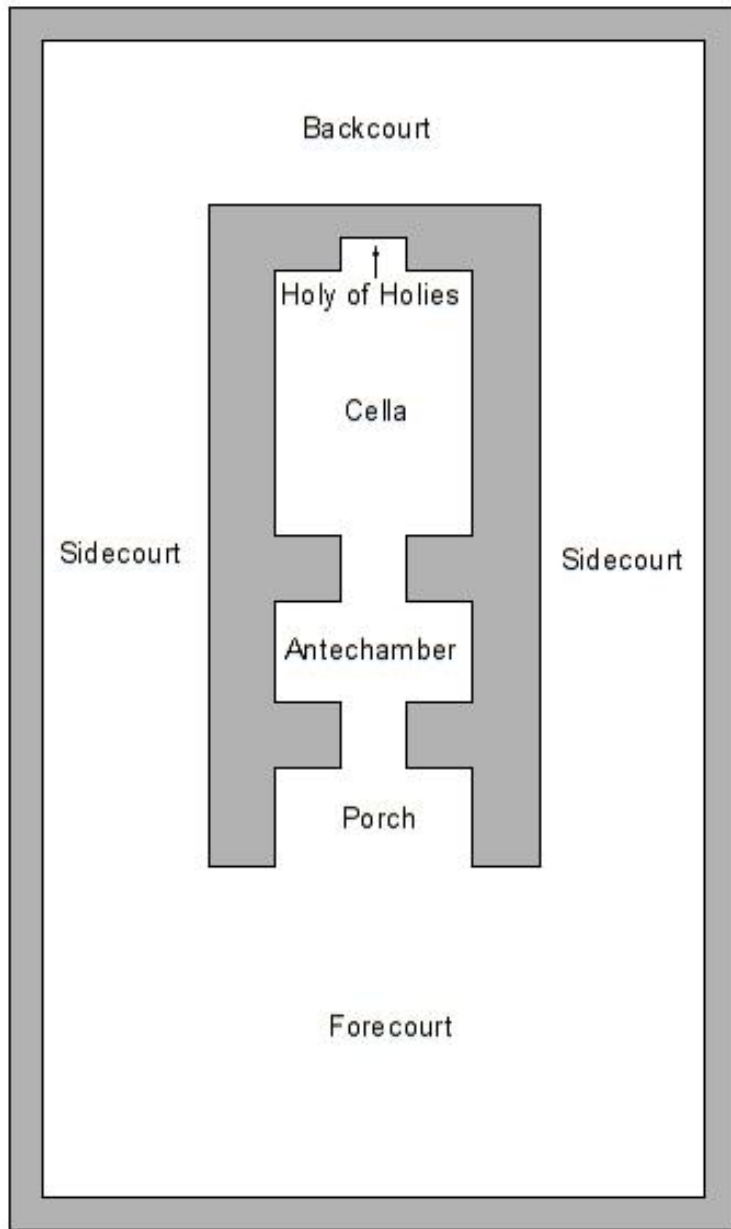
The excavators of Shechem had already associated the temple *in antis* at Shechem with the Temple of El-Berith and the Temple of Baal-Berith as mentioned in the Bible (Jg 9:46-49; Jg 9:4) assuming that both these names refer to the same building (e.g. Sellin 1926: 311; Toombs & Wright 1963: 29; G. E. Wright 1965: 81). There had been debate over whether the building excavated at Shechem was a fortress or a temple but after the excavation of similar buildings at Megiddo and Hazor, the temple identification became widely accepted (G. E. Wright 1965: 81-87). Based on a proposal by Benjamin Mazar, Toombs and Wright decided that the temple should be called a *Migdal* or fortress temple (Toombs & Wright 1963: 29). Mazar had suggested to Wright that the term should be applied to this temple type based primarily on the place name *Migdal-el* which they took to mean fortress of (the god) El and also because of the mention of a *migdal* at Penuel, which was believed to be a sacred site (Wright 1965: 94-95). Wright then suggested that any occurrence of *Migdal* must refer to a fortress temple and that Megiddo and Shechem offered the only archaeological evidence for this type of structure (Wright 1965: 95). Mazar suggested the term *Migdal*-Temple should also be applied to the Hazor H Temple (B. Mazar 1968: 92).



Wright and Mazar were probably in error when they made this association. There are no references in the Bible to *migdal* temples (Burke 2007: 36). As we have stated already the term *migdal* seems to denote a tower or fortress and it is only found as part of a place name, for example Migdal-eder (Gn 35: 21), Migdol (Ex 14: 2), Migdal-el (Jos 19: 38), Migdal-gad (Jos 15: 37), and Migdal-shechem (Jg 9: 46). Migdal-shechem itself is described as a separate place to Shechem. Abimelech razed the town of Shechem (Jg 9: 45) and then turned his attention to Migdal-shechem killing all the inhabitants, men and women (Jg 9: 46-49). The fact that Migdal-shechem is described as having inhabitants would suggest that it is considered a settlement in its own right, since a temple would be unlikely to be described thus.

Furthermore, even if Mazar and Wright were correct in suggesting that Migdal-el was a temple/fortress, this does not automatically mean that every occurrence of *migdal* refers to a fortress temple, particularly when the other place names do not include the name of a deity. Thus even if in some circumstances it does refer to a religious building in the Bible (which is in any case a purely speculative suggestion), this does not mean it always does. If there is a religious connotation to the *migdals*, there is no direct evidence that links them to the excavated temples *in antis*. Even if the word *migdal* is used simply as a descriptive term to describe the monumental nature of many of these temples, it immediately suggests links to the Biblical text that cannot be proved. Thus in this study the temples will be described as *in antis* since this is a neutral term describing the architectural plan of the temple.

In terms of the different parts of the temple, again there are a number of terms used. Three terms used in some literature are worth noting, *Ulam*, *Hekal*, and *Debir*. These names are taken from the biblical description of Solomon's temple. *Ulam* is the porch, the *Hekal* is the main hall, and the *Debir* is the holy-of-holies. These terms will not be used in the present study because like *migdal* they conjure up links to the bible that are not proved. Rather the terms porch, cella, and holy-of-holies will be used in keeping with other literature since they are relatively neutral terms, which do not suggest links to the bible.



**Figure 3-Schematic plan of a typical temple in antis**

## Summary

This chapter has provided a brief overview of previous research into temple architecture in the ancient Near East including typologies of temple plans, specific research into the temples in antis, and descriptions of temple building in texts. It is clear from this that temple plans are highly varied, and even within the specific type of the temple in antis it is clear that many variations exist (as will be illustrated more clearly in Chapter 4, the Gazetteer of temples).

In terms of the origin of the temple *in antis* plan, previous research has suggested that the origins of the temple *in antis* probably lie in Syria, an observation that is difficult to dispute. The temples are similar to the megara of the Aegean but it is difficult to find conclusive links between the two. In the Early Bronze Age southern Levant, there are *in antis* buildings with broad roomed cellae, which could be precedents for the later long roomed *in antis* buildings. This is speculative however, since the presence of antae could be coincidental, and merely the simplest method for adding a porch to the buildings. To understand whether these buildings from across the Levant are indeed related, the finds also need to be considered.

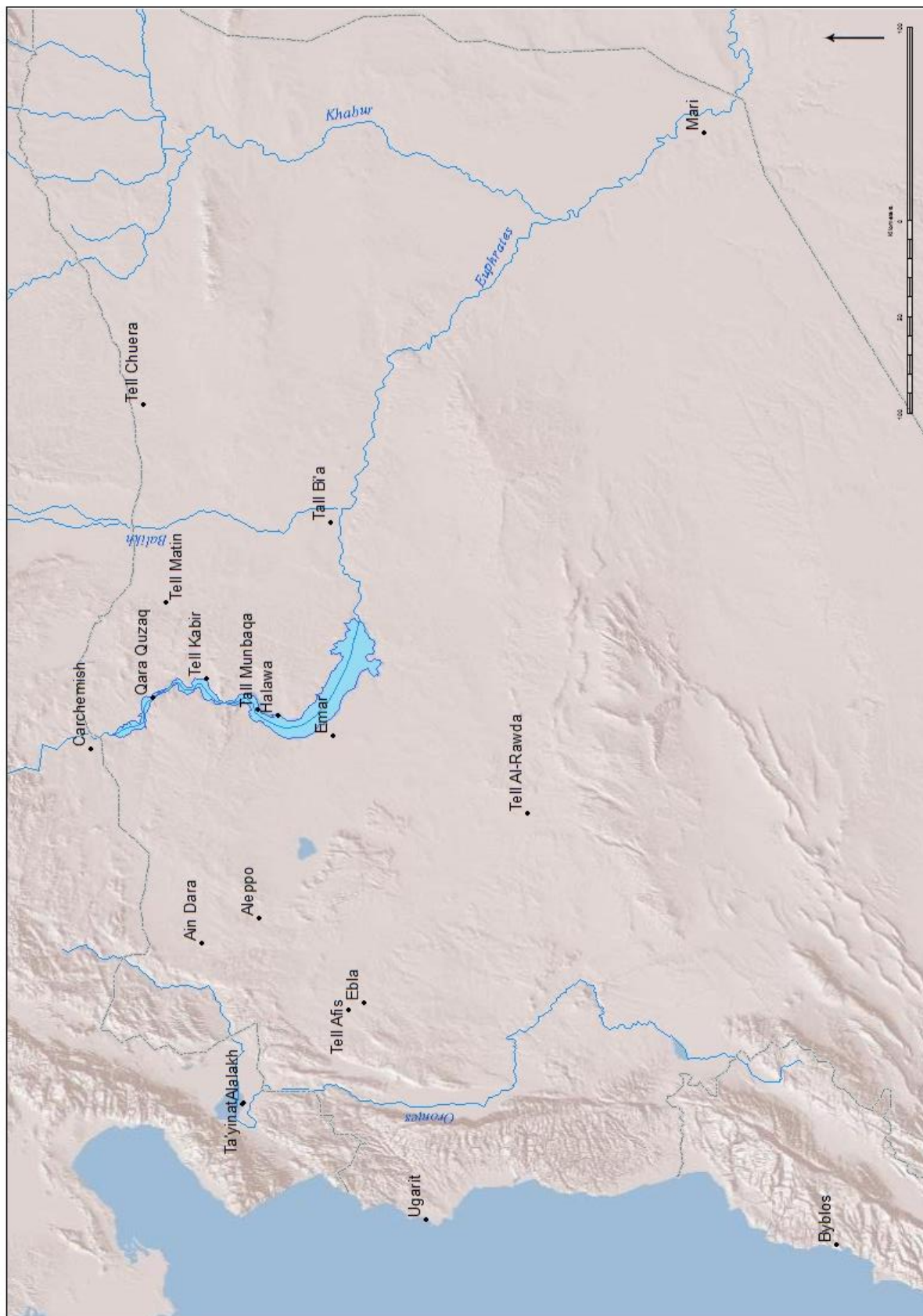


Figure 4- Map of the northern Levant showing sites mentioned in the text

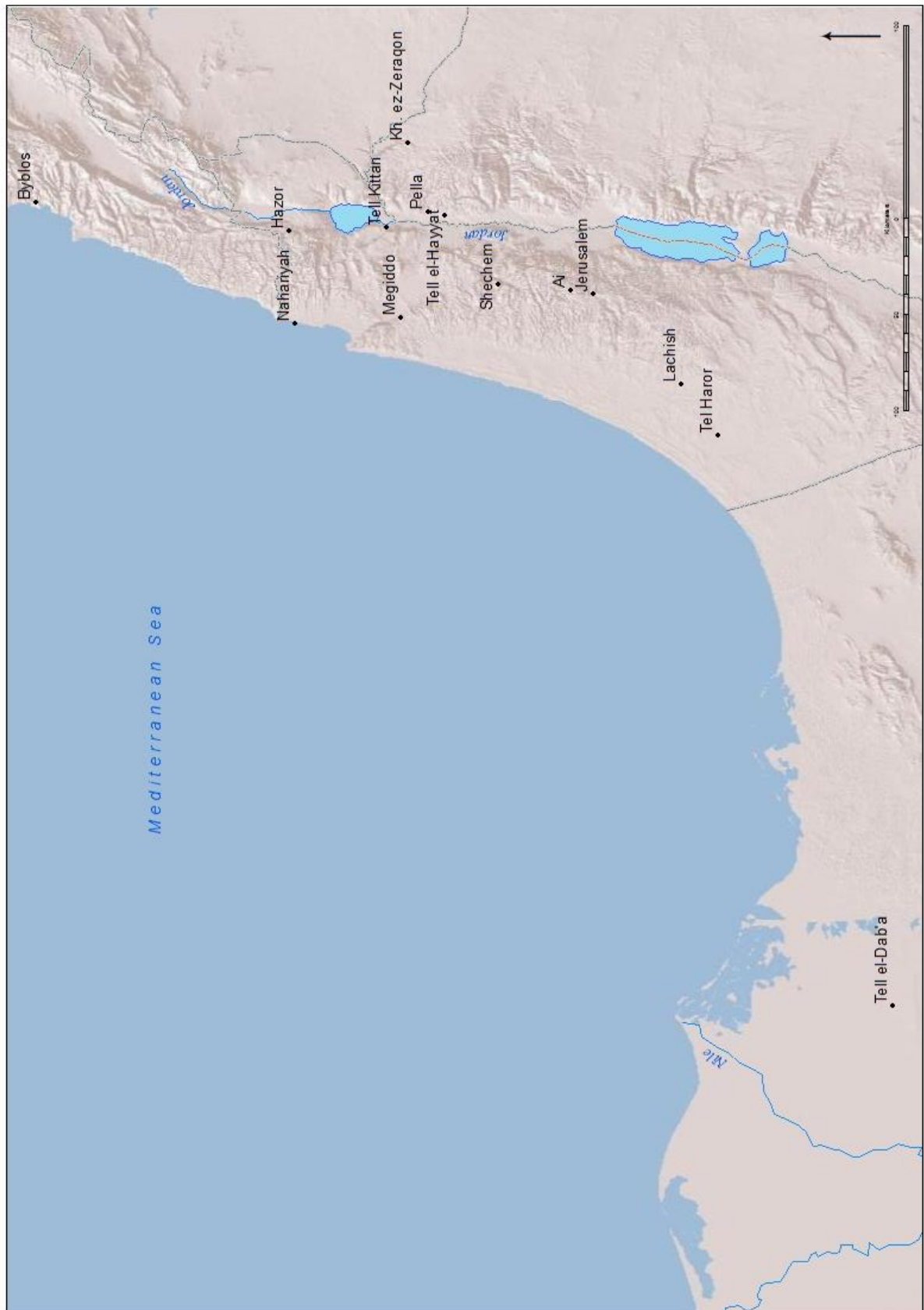


Figure 5- Map of the southern Levant showing sites mentioned in text



## CHAPTER 4

### GAZETTEER OF TEMPLES *IN ANTIS*

This chapter presents all of the identified temples in *antis* at the time of writing. A brief description of each site is given, followed by specific descriptions of the architecture of the temple or temples at each site, and wherever possible a description of the finds within the temples. The exception are the case study temples, Ebla HH1, Ebla P, Hazor Long Temple, Hazor H, Tell el-Hayyat, and Tel Haror, whose finds are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

#### *Tell Afis*

Tell Afis is a 28 ha site in Syria, just north west of Ebla and 55km south of Aleppo (Mazzoni 2013: 204). It was occupied from the Late Neolithic onwards, becoming a small fortified town towards the end of the Chalcolithic (coinciding with increasing copper trade from the north), and continuing as a walled town throughout the Bronze Age until it came under Hittite rule in the Late Bronze Age (Mazzoni 2013: 204). The site was an important regional town during the Iron Age, acting as the capital of an Aramaean state, during which time it was rebuilt with a new sacred area (Mazzoni 2013: 204). It was rebuilt again when it was annexed to the Assyrian empire and it continued to act as a fortress controlling the surrounding plain through the Medieval Period. Following a number of surface surveys of the site in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, three seasons of excavations were carried out in 1970, 1972, and 1978, focusing on the acropolis (Area A). Excavations were restarted in 1986, focusing initially on the domestic areas of the lower tell, and then on the acropolis as well (Mazzoni 2013: 205-6). The finds from Tell Afis have only been published in a preliminary report (Mazzoni 2012).

In the Iron I period, a temple (Building G), was built in a domestic area on the western edge of the acropolis. This building was 10 m long with straight antae, and was notably devoid of finds (Mazzoni 2012: 27-28). Area A, the acropolis, has two superimposed temples, also dating from the Iron I period (AIII2 and 1). They are mudbrick structures, probably *in antis*, although they have been damaged by a later pit making the plan somewhat difficult to reconstruct. The cella is 8.4 x 8.3 metres in size (Mazzoni 2012: 24). Various types of pottery and animal bones were found in the temple in this phase, though all that has been published so far is an incense burner, a kernos, chalices, and animal and bird bones in an ash pit

(Mazzoni 2012: 25). In the Iron II period, the Area A temple was rebuilt with building AII built directly on top of the AIII1 building but this is very poorly preserved and only traces of the walls have been uncovered (Mazzoni 2012: 29).

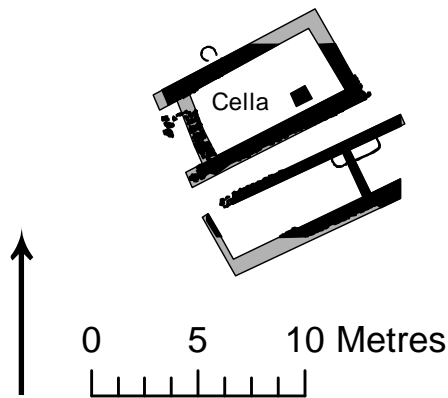


Figure 6- Tell Afis, Temple G

Directly on top of this is building AI, a stone building with a cella 15 x 8 metres (Mazzoni 2012: 30). It has a long room cella, a broad antechamber, and a broad open porch. Around the sides and rear of the building are a series of smaller rooms and the anta are in the form of towers (Mazzoni 2012: 30). The plan of this temple is similar to the 'Ain Dara temple and the earlier Black Building at Hazor. Many fragments of sculpture and stelae were found amongst debris in the antechamber, although it is uncertain to which phase of the temple they belong since they seem to represent a number of periods (from the Late Bronze through to the Iron II) (Mazzoni 2012: 30-31). It does however suggest that the temple may have been at least partially decorated with sculpture like the temple at 'Ain Dara. The AI temple had a courtyard around it which produced many ceramics including cult vases, painted incense burners, and glazed funnels, as well as other objects strewn on the floor in front of the temple, around a basalt basin (Mazzoni 2012: 32). There was a small building to the south of the temple, which seems to have been used as a storeroom for temple items, there were also two silos here which seemed to have been used as favissae (like those at Ebla and Hazor) (Mazzoni 2012: 32-33). There was also a terrace to the east of the building, on top of which was a basin and an altar containing ashes and burnt animal bones (sheep and dove bones) as well as bowls and platters (Mazzoni 2012: 33).



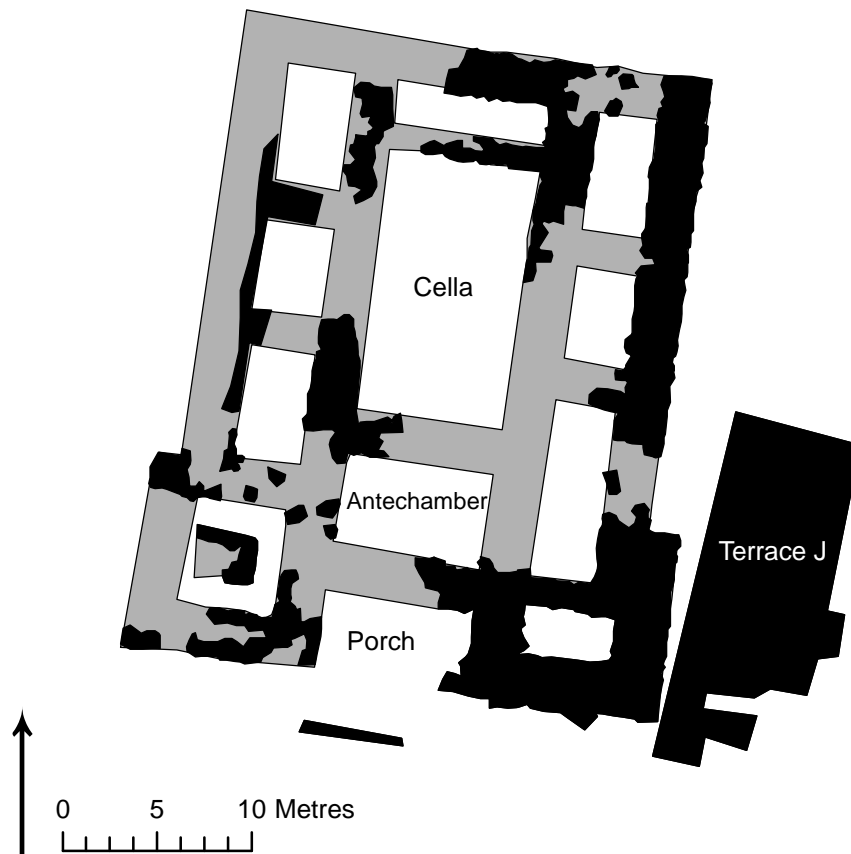
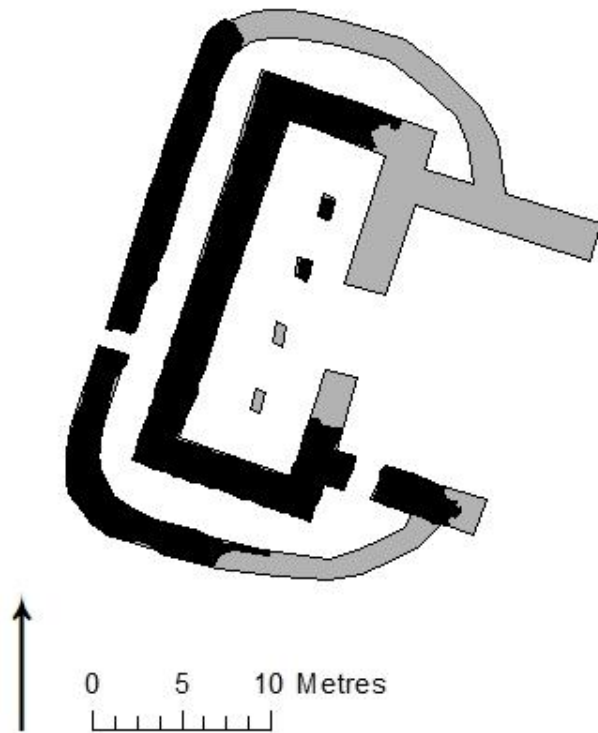


Figure 7- Tell Afis, Temple AI

## *Ai*

The site of Et-Tell (ancient Ai) is a site north of Jerusalem, about 11 ha in size (Callaway 1976: 18). It was first occupied in the Early Bronze Age, was abandoned at the end of that period, and was not settled again until the Iron Age, when a small village was constructed on the site (Callaway 1976: 19). Only a small portion of the mound was excavated, with work concentrating on the fortifications and acropolis (Callaway *et al* 1965: fig. 1). On the acropolis, there is a building that was initially identified as a palace (Marquet-Krause 1935: 327), but was later suggested to be a temple (Callaway 1976: 26). The identification as a temple has been largely accepted, though the evidence for it being cultic is mainly circumstantial and is based mainly on the architectural plan, which is similar to other buildings identified as temples (Ottosson 1980: 12). The plan of the acropolis building is often compared to the Stratum IX temple at Megiddo and the 'En Gedi temples because they all have the shallow broad room plan, despite Ai being the only one with antae (Kempinski 1992: 56). Although the renewed excavations at 'Ai in the 1960s produced extensive

excavation reports which encompassed the data from earlier excavations as well (Callaway 1972; 1980) there is unfortunately not enough information on the temple finds for detailed analysis.



**Figure 8- The Acropolis Building at Ai**

The only cultic objects at the site were found in a building near the town wall that Marquet-Krause identified as a sanctuary (Marquet-Krause 1935: 230; pl. LIII) but it has been suggested that the cult objects were removed from the acropolis building to Marquet-Krause's Sanctuary, which is now believed to be a modified house (Callaway 1976: 26). Unfortunately, this makes it difficult to understand what was happening in either building, only the presence or absence of certain types of artefacts can be reconstructed, not any specific spatial patterning of objects. There was at least one incense burner in the house sanctuary, as well as ceramic bowls, store jars, and jugs and some alabaster vases, which are believed to have been imported from Egypt (Marquet-Krause 1935: pl. LV, LVI). Callaway references the same group of artefacts, which were re-examined during the publication of the final report (Callaway 1976: 26). This group included two alabaster vases found in the citadel building that were deemed to be part of the same assemblage as those found in the sanctuary and were what led the excavators to think that the cultic objects from the citadel were removed to the sanctuary in the lower town (Callaway 1976: 26). Although the 'Ai temple is not a temple *in antis* in the traditional sense because of its shallow broad plan, it does have

antae and it seems important to include it here because it does seem that it could be a variation or an ancestor of the general type.

### *‘Ain Dara*

‘Ain Dara is a tell of about 25 ha in Northern Syria (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 1). Excavations by Abū ‘Assāf between 1976 and 1985 have discovered occupation levels from the Chalcolithic through to the Ottoman Period, but the temple has been the most extensively published and discussed find at the site (Monson 2000; Millard 2000). The temple was first built towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, and was rebuilt and expanded twice during the Iron Age. The temple has a broad antechamber in front of the cella, which is almost square (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 11). The antae are square blocks slightly wider than the walls, flanking the entrance, creating a shallow porch, which contains two pillars, added in the second phase of the temple (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: Abb. 12-14). Along the back wall of the cella is a raised platform, on which the excavators believe the cult image would have stood (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 17). Around the back and side walls of the temple in its last phase is a hallway with a number of stelae depicting royalty and offering scenes (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 11).

The temple facade is embellished with numerous carved lions and sphinxes and both the temple and the courtyard are constructed from contrasting limestone and basalt blocks (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 12). On the threshold of the temple, there is a pair of anthropomorphic footprints about 1m long, on the flag between the porch and antechamber there is another left footprint, and another right footprint is situated in the doorway between the antechamber and the cella, presumably supposed to be the footprints of the deity entering the temple (Abū ‘Assāf 1990: 11). It has been suggested that the ‘Ain Dara temple with the tripartite plan, raised holy-of-holies and additional rooms around the side of the building is the closest archaeological parallel for Solomon’s Temple in Jerusalem, particularly because it dates to the Iron Age, which is also considered to be the date of the Jerusalem Temple (Monson 2000). However, this has been disputed by Hurowitz for example who believes that, architecturally at least, the Ta’yinat temples are the closest parallels to the Jerusalem Temple (Hurowitz 2011). Although the ‘Ain Dara excavation reports provide a very in depth look at the architectural layout of the temple, and the arrangement of the stelae found around the walls (Abū ‘Assāf 1990), they unfortunately do not contain descriptions of any small finds or ceramics.

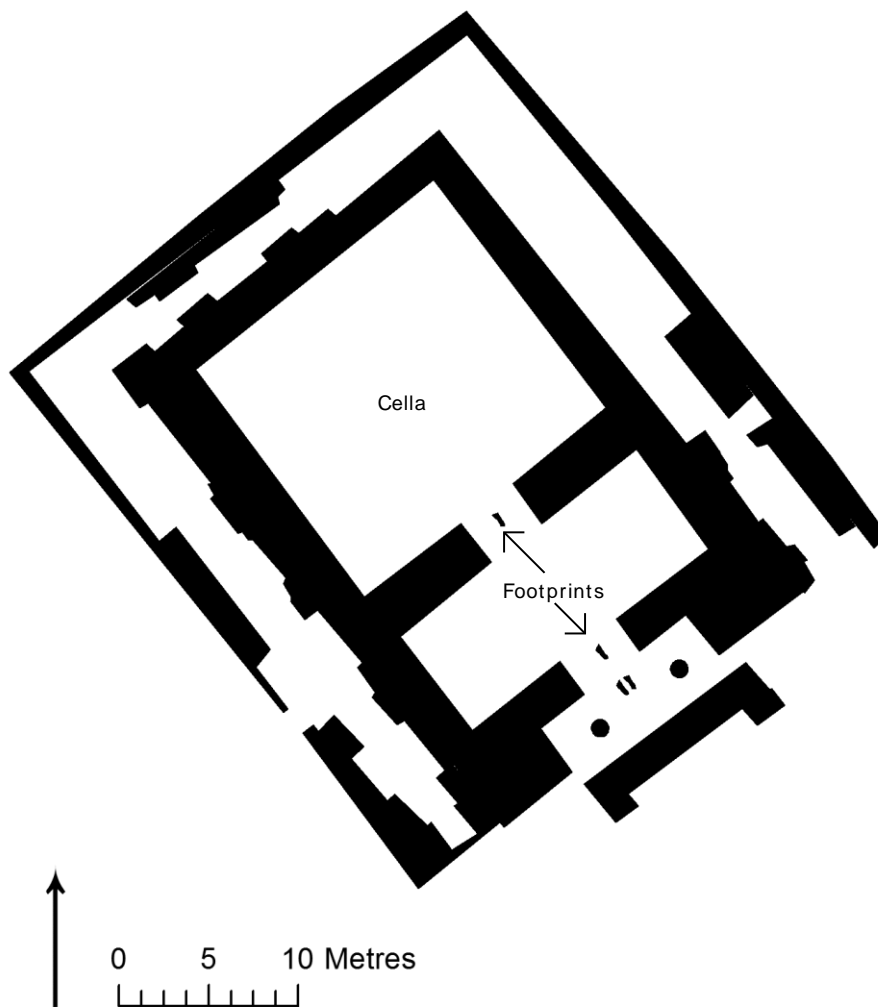


Figure 9- The 'Ain Dara Temple, Final Phase

### *Alalakh*

Modern Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh, sits on the Turkish-Syrian border and is quite literally across the road from Tell Ta'yinat, only 700 metres south of it. It was excavated by Leonard Woolley between 1937 and 1949 (although no excavations took place during the war), and 17 occupation levels were discovered from the Early Bronze to the end of the Late Bronze Age. Alalakh seems to have been involved in long distance trade with Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and the Aegean as evidenced by imported goods and Minoan style frescoes in the palace.

Throughout its history it seems to have existed as a vassal to various neighbouring kingdoms, including Yamhad, with its capital at Aleppo, Mitanni and the Hittite empire, eventually being ruined along with numerous other sites during the wave of destructions that mark the end of the Late Bronze Age (Bienkowski 2000a: 10).

At Alalakh Woolley excavated a series of 17 temples all built on the same part of the site, from Levels XVI-0 (Woolley 1955: 33)<sup>1</sup>. Of these, six temples are of relevance to the present study, Levels VII, V, IV, II, IA, and IB, since these temples have antae. In all of the *in antis* buildings the main room is broad or square and as a result the Alalakh temples are often compared to Hazor H (e.g. Yadin 1972: 79, 87; Ottosson 1980: 34-36; A. Mazar 1992: 169). In most of the temples *in antis*, the antae are L-shaped, creating an enclosed porch, and some of the buildings have antechambers, separating the porch from the cella, created by an additional wall across the width of the building (Woolley 1955: 85). All of the temple buildings are aligned on a northwest-southeast axis with the entrances in the southeast. In Level VII, the temple is adjacent to the palace but in the subsequent periods, the area previously occupied by the palace is rebuilt as houses. A new palace/fortress complex is built about 20 m northwest of the temple in Level V that continues in use until Level I (see town plans in Fink 2010: 6-11 and Woolley 1953: 73, fig. 12). The Alalakh excavation reports are in keeping with the date that they were published. They do record some finds, usually those considered to be particularly fine examples or unusual in some way, however, numbers and specific contexts are usually omitted and there is no mention of most of the pottery or animal bones except that they were present in an unspecified amount. Most of the finds from the Alalakh temples do not seem to have been deposited in any special ways. The majority are not given any particular context so it is assumed that they were found simply lying on floors and so forth, since Woolley tends to make note of unusual contexts (Woolley 1953; 1955).

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<sup>1</sup> According to Woolley the date of Level XVI is 3100-2900 B.C.E., Late Chalcolithic, Level 0 is 1194 B.C.E., Late Bronze Age II (Woolley 1953: 194; 1955: 399). Woolley's dates for Levels V-0, 1595-1194 B.C.E., Middle Bronze Age II-Late Bronze Age II (Woolley 1953: 194; 1955: 399) have been disputed by Fink who dates them between 1490/1465 B.C.E. and 1190/1185 B.C.E., Late Bronze Age I-Late Bronze Age II (see Fink 2010: 3, Summary Table 2 for details)

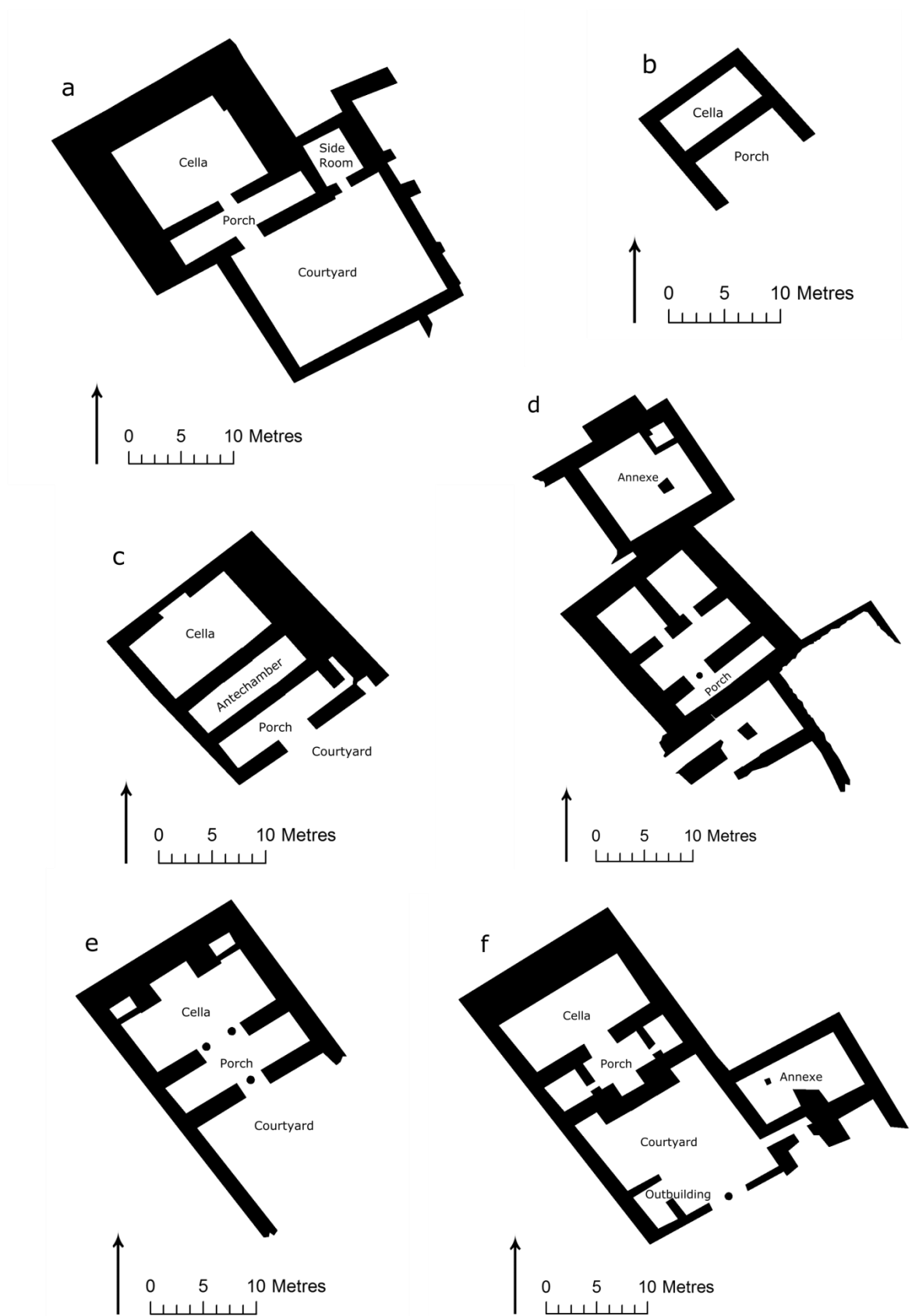


Figure 10- Alalakh Temples: a) Level VII, b) Level V, c) Level IV, d) Level II, e) Level Ia, f) Level Ib

The earliest temple in antis at Alalakh (Level VII), is an almost square building with a square cella and a shallow enclosed porch created by the L-shaped antae. The doorways of the porch and the cella are centrally aligned. In front of the temple is a square courtyard, enclosed on all sides by a wall and there is a side room adjacent to the northeast sidewall of the temple.

There were benches around the walls of the cella under which were concealed boxes containing a number of objects. Because they were sealed and hidden beneath the bench tops, these boxes were interpreted as caches for the precious objects belonging to the temple by Woolley (1953: 79). Unfortunately, these boxes had been looted in antiquity but some finds remain. Although no metallic objects survived, except some fragments of gold foil (Woolley 1955: 64), presumably because metal was easy to melt down and reuse, there were a number of special finds, particularly jewellery. There were beads of carnelian, chalcedony, and glass as well as a paste ring. There was also a lapis lazuli fish amulet, a chalcedony cylinder seal and a paste scarab. Several pieces of inlay made from ivory/bone, rock crystal, and obsidian probably attest to the presence of wooden objects such as furniture, which no longer survive. A number of statue fragments were found within the cella both anthropomorphic (male) and zoomorphic (Bull). Ten female figurines were found in the temple complex although specific contexts are not recorded. These are of the typical Syrian style also found at Ebla for example as well as at many other sites (see Badre 1980 for a detailed overview of Syrian figurines). 18 Cuneiform tablets and 2 envelope fragments were also found (Lauinger 2008: 186), these were administrative texts associated with the management of silver income and outgoings (possibly on behalf of the palace) (Lauinger 2008: 187).

If a temple existed in Level VI it had been completely destroyed, a single wall from Level VI survived in the temple area but this was not enough to determine if indeed a temple existed (Woolley 1953: 89). The plan of the Level V temple is not well known, the reconstruction shows a broad room with antae, but this is based on Woolley's assumption that there should have been a porch as in the other levels (Woolley 1955: 68). According to Woolley, the cella was sunk about 1 m below ground level, Woolley therefore suggested that the building could have been isolated which he did not think likely, or that the porch was at ground level and traces of it had since been lost (Woolley 1955: 68). Although the Level V temple is poorly preserved, we can reconstruct some of the finds. There were few remains inside the cella itself, since this part of the temple was in a poor state of preservation. Although the presence of sherds and animal bones are noted, they are not recorded in any detail. A statue fragment was found on one of the cella benches although we are not told what it depicts. Four

anthropomorphic ceramic figurines as well as two other female figurines, one in glass and one in bronze were found in the temple context although again, no specific contextual data is given.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Level V temple is the presence of pits in the courtyard of the temple containing mainly beaker fragments but also a gold brooch and an Egyptian faience vase (Woolley 1955: 70). These pits were apparently contemporary since vessels were reconstructed from sherds from different pits (Woolley 1953: 97). Woolley does note that the pottery found in these pits is of a type “rarely found in houses” and therefore suggests that these pits represent a clearing of the temple area (Woolley 1953: 97). It should be noted that dumps of a similar type were also found at Megiddo (as piles) (Epstein 1965: 208) and Lachish (Tufnell et al 1940: 43-4), not to mention the favissae found at Ebla (Marchetti & Nigro 1997; Sala 2012 etc.) and Hazor (Ben-Tor 2008).

The Level IV temple is similar in plan to the Level VII temple but is rectangular rather than square. The cella is broad with a niche in the centre of the rear wall. There is a shallow antechamber and a shallow porch created by L-shaped antae. The north-eastern side wall is thicker than the other walls and it contains a staircase suggesting the presence of a second storey, or at least that access to the roof was required (Woolley 1953: 118). The finds from Level IV are very poorly recorded although the niche in the cella produced beads of amber, frit, and glass as well as lead strips of an unknown function. Animal bones were also found in this niche but the species are not identified (Woolley 1955: 73). The Level III temple has a bent axis and is not considered as belonging to the in antis type.

The Level II temple is unusual in that it has two shrines within the cella. The basic layout of the temple is similar to the earlier in antis temples at this site but the division of the cella into two rooms perhaps suggests that two deities were being worshipped here. An annexe room is attached to the outside of the rear (northwest) wall of the temple, which was interpreted as a storeroom. Most of the recorded finds from this phase of the temple seem to have originated from a “cupboard” in this annexe room. These finds included three female figurines, one of bone, one frit, and the other lapis lazuli. A bone toilet box carved in the shape of a bird was also found, as well as two vessels, one of blue paste and the other in glass (Woolley 1955: 81).



The Level Ia temple once again has the more traditional in antis plan that was seen in the earlier phases. The building is roughly square with a broad cella, which has a niche in the centre of the rear wall, flanked by two concealed compartments or niches on either side. There is a shallow enclosed porch created by L-shaped antae, and there was a courtyard in front of the temple bounded on its western side by a wall but of unknown extent to the south and east. The temple walls in this phase are not as thick as in the earlier phases, perhaps suggesting that the building was not as high as it had previously been. In Level Ib the porch is subdivided by the addition of two walls creating square rooms at either end of the porch (Woolley 1955: 85). This makes the temple similar in ground plan to the Hazor H Stratum 3 and Stratum 2 temples and it is therefore possible that these rooms were actually flanking towers like those at Hazor H. The niche in the rear wall of this phase of the cella is filled in and a step is added to the main entrance. The courtyard walls are preserved in this phase, the courtyard being a roughly square space in front of the temple with a small room in the southwest corner. An annexe room exists adjacent to the eastern courtyard wall, interpreted as a storeroom for the temple.

Unfortunately, although the plans of the Level 1 temples are well known, the finds are again rather poorly recorded. A niche concealed within the back wall of the Level Ia temple contained a number of objects, including dagger, two vases (one of glass and the other of alabaster), as well as a number of potsherds. These are believed to be a foundation deposit (Woolley 1953: 165; 1955: 84). In Level Ib, the only find from the cella was a stone stamp seal. Two arrowheads of bronze and iron, and a bronze chisel were found in the courtyard. Only one bead (made of frit) was found, also in the courtyard. Two stone bullae and a number of sherds, including jug and saucer fragments as well as unspecified types of sherds were also found within the courtyard. The annexe contained a spearhead and several fragments of statues. An altar was also found in this room, as well as the famous white statue of Idri-Mi, which was found buried in a pit the room's floor.

### *Aleppo*

The remains of ancient Aleppo sit amongst the modern city of the same name. It is located in northern Syria and the presence of the modern city has inhibited excavations at the site. However, excavations since 1996 under the direction of Kay Kohlmeyer have uncovered a large temple on the citadel of the site, first constructed in the Early Bronze Age and rebuilt

several times, although the earliest phase is not well known (Kohlmeyer 2009: 191). The later phases seem to have reused the earlier plan, simply altering it to suit their needs (Kohlmeyer 2009; 2012).

The temple is obscured greatly by later remains but it seems to consist of a broad roomed cella (27 x 16 m) and a narrow *in antis* porch flanked by two towers. The temple walls are up to 10 m thick suggesting that the temple may have stood at a considerable height, possibly with several storeys. In the earlier phases there was a niche in the centre of the back wall of the cella, though this was blocked in the Late Bronze Age when a platform was added along this wall, faced by carved orthostats (Kohlmeyer 2012: 62). The interior of the temple is also decorated by carved reliefs around the walls depicting amongst other things an images of the “Storm God” smiting his enemies, from which the temple gets its name (Kohlmeyer 2012: 74). The finds from the Aleppo temple have not been published in any detail at the present time.

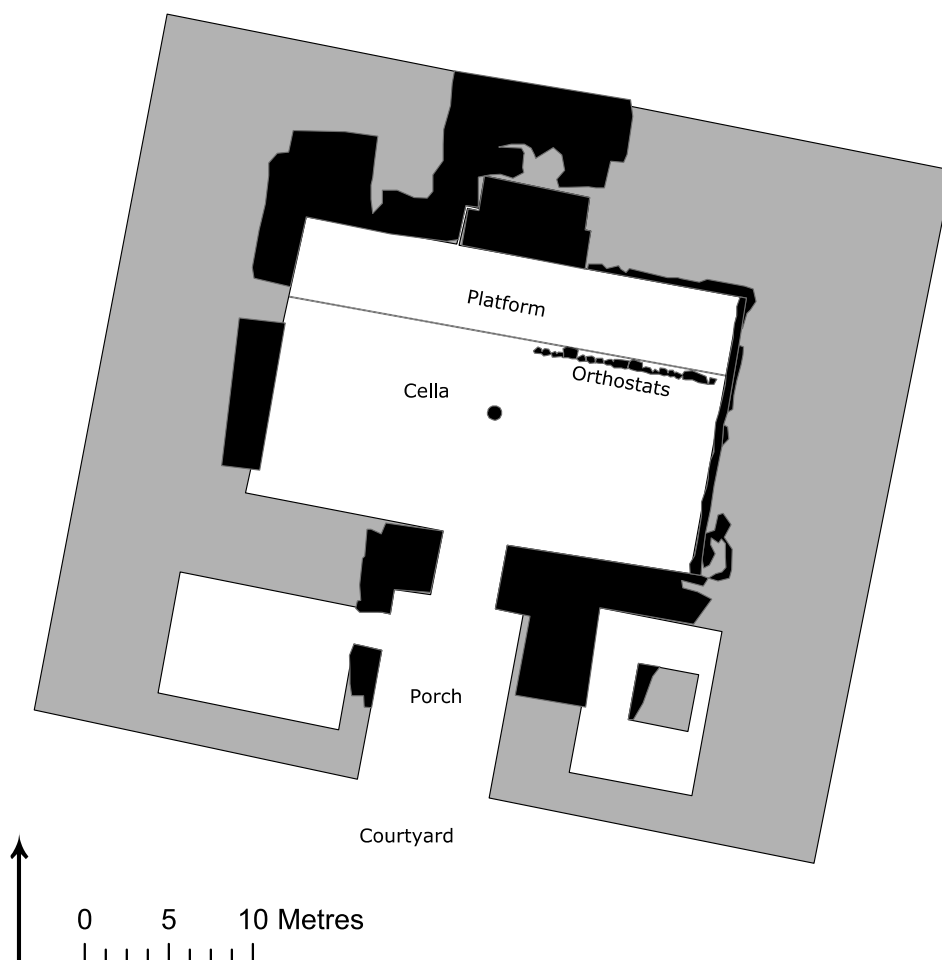


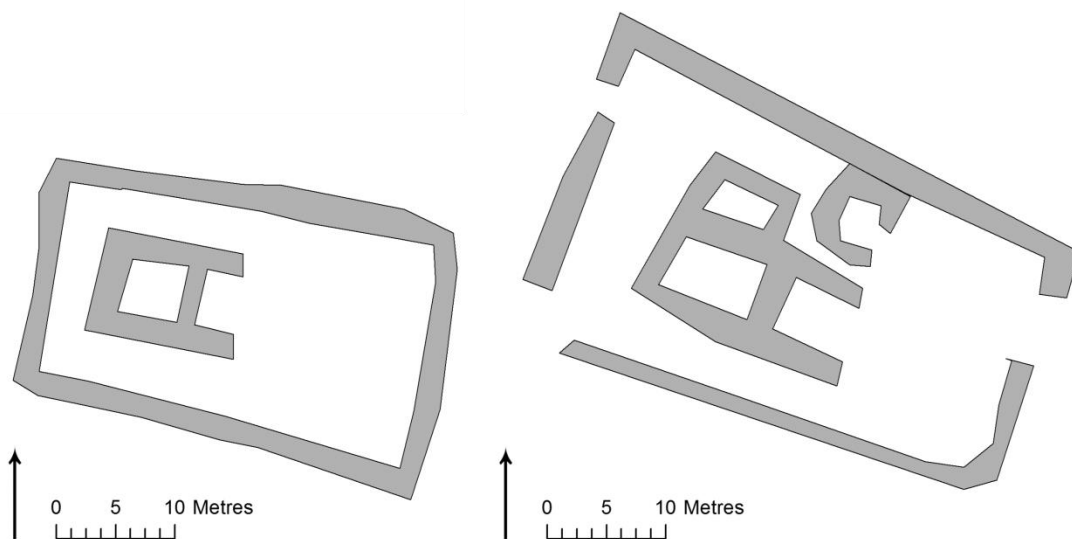
Figure 11- Aleppo "Temple of the Storm God"

Tell Al-Rawda is a circular mound in the Syrian steppe, first excavated in 2002, (Castel & Peltenburg 2007: 603) with a main tell of around 15 ha (including the fortifications) and a lower town of about 4 ha (Castel & Peltenburg 2007: 605). The Early Bronze Age tell surface had been undisturbed so the team conducted a geophysical survey which showed a dense concentration of buildings across the site arranged on a grid of concentric circular and radial streets, the regularity indicating the town was planned before building (Castel & Peltenburg 2007: 604). The geophysics results are at first glance very similar to those of Tell Chuera (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: fig. 8.15) since both are *Kranzhügel* or wreath-mounds (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 256).



**Figure 12- Tell Al-Rawda, Religious Complex**

Excavations at Al-Rawda since 2002 have uncovered an extensive religious complex in the northeast of the tell dating to Early Bronze IV (Castel 2010: 124). Here there are three temples built on top of each other. The complex consists of a large temple *in antis* with an adjoining small temple against the northwest wall which was added in the final stage of the temple sequence and also seems to follow an *in antis* plan. The antae of the large temple are L-shaped and the main room is almost square. The walls of the temple are slightly irregular, splaying outwards somewhat towards the entrance. There is a large enclosure in front of the temple, ca. 60 metres long, which also contains small structures near the gate, directly opposite to the entrance to the large temple (Castel 2010: 124-125). The geophysical survey also showed that another temple *in antis* was situated in the southeast of the tell, and a third possible temple *in antis* was situated in the northwest of the site but these remain unexcavated (Castel & Gondet 2004: 104, fig. 8a, 8c).



**Figure 13- Tell al-Rawda, unexcavated temples seen from geophysics results: Left- southeast temple, Right- northwest temple**

There is no publication of the ceramics or small finds from Tell al-Rawda with the exception of one preliminary paper designed to create a ceramic typology (Boudier 2007). Boudier notes the presence of several types of vessel: bowls, dishes, goblets, jars, cooking pots and other vessels (Boudier 2007: 26). Unfortunately, the examples seen in Boudier's report only comprise 5% of the total ceramic assemblage for Tell al-Rawda (Boudier 2007: 25). Furthermore, Boudier's sample is taken from all over the excavated tell and he gives no contextual information for any of the examples meaning that there may be pieces from the temple but these are mixed with pieces from other areas. Castel and Peltenberg mention that the offerings at the temple included "shells from the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabo-

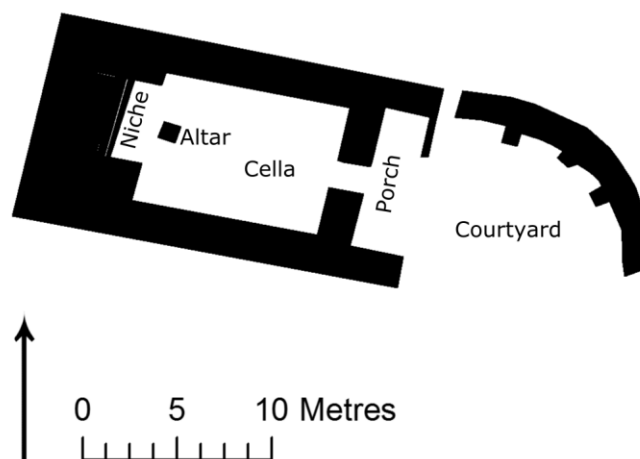
Persian Gulf, agate probably from India, lapis-lazuli from Badakshan in Afghanistan and Egyptian (?) Alabaster”, (Castel & Peltenburg 2007: 610), exotic items which would presumably have been somewhat unusual and possibly expensive.

There have also been preliminary reports on the botanical remains (Herveux 2004) and the faunal remains (Vila & El Besso 2005). Of the areas sampled for the preliminary botanical report, only two produced plant remains from flotation (Herveux 2004: 80). These areas were the temple (Secteur 1) and the ramparts (Secteur 2) (Herveux 2004: 80). By far the most prominent botanical remains were from barley (of several species) making up around 45% of the sample from the temple and about 55% of the rampart assemblage (Herveux 2004: 81-82). Other remains include various wild flowers and grasses, a small number of legumes (lentils, peas, chickpeas, etc.) and some grape and pistachio (Herveux 2004: 81-82). Unfortunately, other than knowing that the seeds are from the temple area and rampart area respectively, there is no contextual information given. This means that until further reports are published, we cannot say, for example, whether the remains are from deliberate or accidental burning practices, whether they are from midden material or were left purposely and so on. Furthermore, Herveux does not lay out her sampling strategy, other than telling us that 26 samples (2000 litres) were taken for flotation (Herveux 2004: 80), so it seems possible if not likely that samples would only have been taken in special circumstances (e.g. the discovery of a hearth), rather than as a standard part of excavating any context.

The preliminary work on the faunal data produced results similar to those at Tell el-Hayyat. Of the bones of the three main domesticates from the temple contexts, 97.8% were sheep/goat, 0.5% were pig, and 1.7% were cow (Vila & El Besso 2005: Table 2). The percentages at Tell el-Hayyat of sheep/goat, pig, and cow are around 85%, 4%, and 5% respectively (based on an average from different phases of the temple) (Falconer et al 2006: Fig. 6.46 a & b). What is interesting however, is that at Tall al-Rawda the percentages are more or less the same for the domestic areas as well (within 2 or 3%). At Tell el-Hayyat the percentage of sheep/goat to pig and cow is much lower in the domestic contexts (48%, 38.3% and 13.7% respectively) (Falconer et al 2006: fig. 6.46 c) suggesting that there were not necessarily the same ideas about which animals were suitable for cult consumption at the two sites.

### *Tall Bi'a (Tuttul)*

Tall Bi'a is a large site identified with ancient Tuttul. It is around 40 ha in size, and located at the junction of the Balikh and Euphrates rivers. Excavations began in the 1980s and uncovered occupation debris from the Early Bronze Age through to the Middle Bronze Age (Krebern timer & Strommenger 2010). The temple is a typical *in antis* building with walls about 4 m thick built in the Middle Bronze Age (Miglus & Strommenger 2002:104; Beilage 23). The antae are simple projections of the sidewalls and there is a dividing wall between the porch and the cella. In the centre of the back wall of the cella, there is a wide niche with steps raising its base above the level of the cella floor and there is a square platform or altar in front of the niche (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: Taf. 121.1). There is a temenos wall with buttresses on the interior side, curving from the northern antae towards the south (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: Beilage 23).



**Figure 14- Tall Bi'a Temple**

Only the most complete finds from the temple at Tall Bi'a were published (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: 107). Inside the temple itself were found sherds and bones of an unknown number and type as well as “other objects” which seem to have been associated with floor levels (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: 107). The finds published specially consisted of bowls, a ceramic tray, two cult stands with windows in them and a pot stand (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: 107; Taf 132), also two fragments of applied ceramic decoration depicting birds, possibly from a stand, and a piece of gold sheet are mentioned (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: 108; Taf 133). From the forecourt of the temple, only the presence of an unspecified number of sherds is mentioned and one stand (Miglus & Strommenger 2002:

108). The incense stands pictured (Miglus & Strommenger 2002: Taf 133) are similar in type to those found at other temples for example those from Nahariyah (Ben-Dor 1950).

### *Byblos*

Byblos was an important port on the Lebanese coast that is well known from Egyptian sources and is also mentioned in the Bible (as Gebal). It was occupied continuously from the Neolithic period onwards and was an important link in the trading relationships between Egypt, the Aegean, the Levant, and Mesopotamia (Bienkowski 2000: 62). It was first excavated in 1860 by Ernest Renan, then by Pierre Montet in the early 1920s and Maurice Dunand between 1928 and 1975 (Bienkowski 2000: 62). The recording of the site is difficult to interpret at best, and the site was excavated in arbitrary spits of 20 cm (Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 22) meaning that some individual contexts may have been split or missed during the excavation and identifying specific find spots becomes virtually impossible.

There was an Early Bronze Age temple to the Lady of Byblos (identified with the Egyptian goddess Hathor) called the Temple of Ba'alat-Gebal, and this was replaced by the Temple of the Obelisks in the Middle Bronze Age (Jidejian 1968: 16; 35). There are also *in antis* buildings, the "Temple en L" and the "Chapelle Orientale" (Dunand 1950, 1954, 1958). Both temples were built in the Early Bronze Age III (Sala 2008: Tab. 1). The Temple en L is a complex containing a tripartite central building with an *in antis* plan and a smaller "chapel" to the west of this surrounded by a courtyard and other rooms outside the courtyard wall (Dunand 1958: fig. 1007). The central part of the tripartite structure is a typical *in antis* building with a dividing wall between the porch and cella. There is a smaller building attached to each of the side walls of the central building each with an anta on the front corner furthest from the central part of the structure. The antae of the central structure thus form the second anta of each of the side buildings (Dunand 1958: fig. 1007). The chapel to the west of the tripartite structure has a broad cella and dividing wall between the porch and cella. The northern anta of the building is part of the courtyard wall (Dunand 1958: fig. 1007). The whole complex was destroyed in a conflagration at the end of the Early Bronze Age (Jidejian 1968: 21).

The Chapelle Orientale is situated just to the east of the Temple en L about 3 m from its outer wall (Sala 2008: fig. 9). The Chapelle Orientale is a small building with a broad room cella,

*in antis* porch, and a dividing wall between the porch and cella. The walls of all the *in antis* buildings are about 1 m thick. The Byblos *in antis* buildings are more akin to those found at Early Bronze Age Megiddo than the long room temples *in antis*, because of the broad cellae and relatively thin walls although the buildings are much smaller than the Megiddo temples.

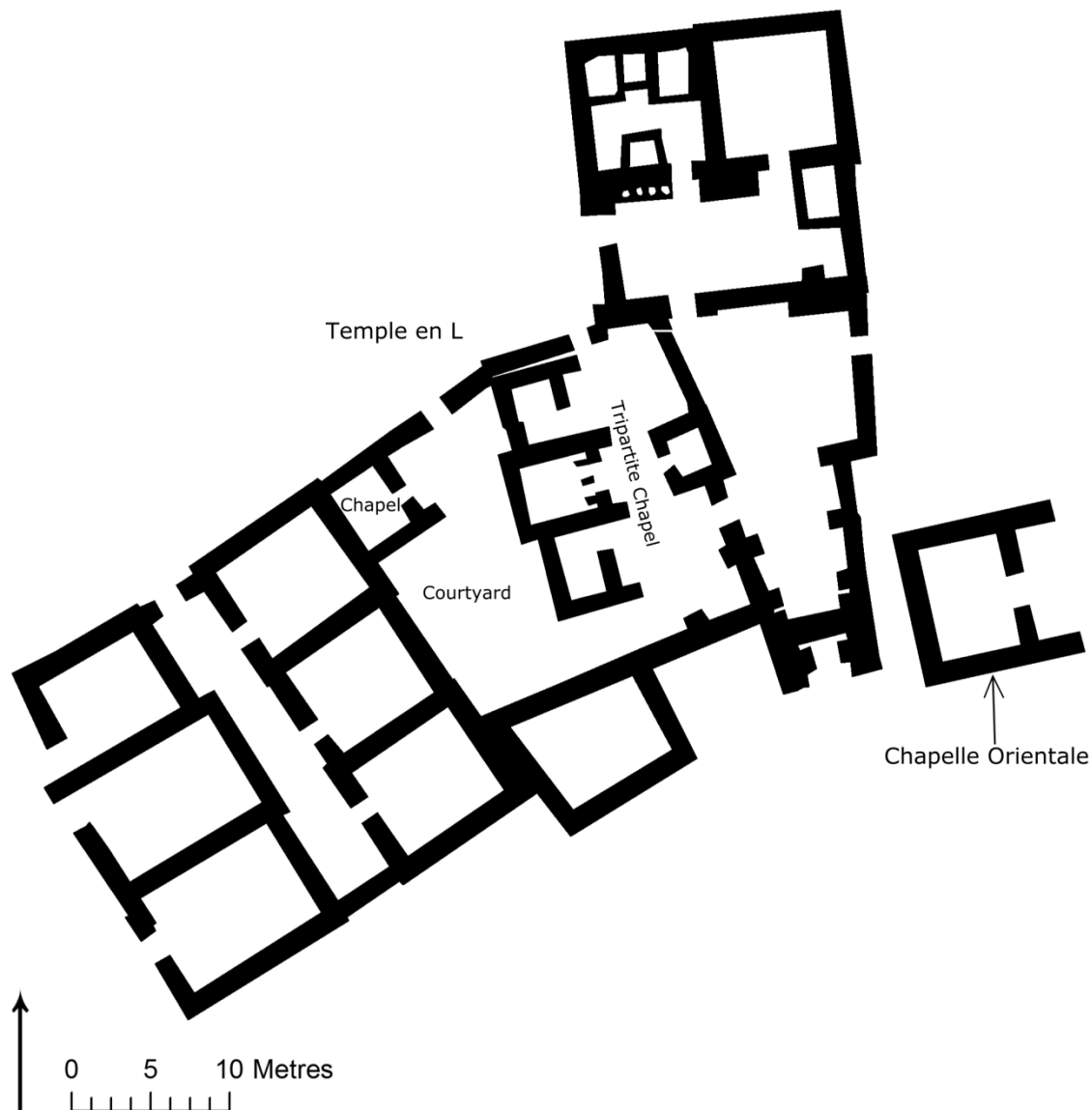


Figure 15- Byblos, Temple en L and Chapelle Orientale (right)

Dunand's reports on the excavations at Byblos (Dunand 1950, 1954, 1958) published the finds, but not necessarily the contexts in which they were found, meaning that distinguishing between finds from the temple and other areas is problematic. The fact that the site was also excavated in arbitrary spits also adds to the problems here. An article by Negbi and Moskowitz focuses on the offering deposits at Byblos, all from the temples that are not in



antis (the Temple of the Obelisks, the Temple of Ba'alat Gebal, the Champs des Offrandes, and the Enceinte Sacrée).

More than 40 of these deposits were found containing “thousands of metal figurines and jewellery, hundreds of tools and weapons, and dozens of other cult objects” (Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 21). Most of these were found in sealed ceramic vessels (Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 21), which may be comparable to the temple at Tell Kittan where a number of objects were found in bowls (see below). Negbi and Moskowitz disagree with Dunand’s initial interpretation that these were foundation deposits and with his later suggestion that they were part of the temple ritual as a place to store offerings (Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 22). They think that they were simply hidden in the pits hence the fact that they mainly consist of valuable items, for example metal (Negbi & Moskowitz 1966: 23).

### *Carchemish*

Carchemish is a tell of about 95 ha, situated at a crossing point on the Euphrates and divided by the modern Turkey-Syria border (Wilkinson *et al* 2011). It has occupation from the Chalcolithic Period onwards, although only the Iron Age at the site is well known archaeologically (Woolley & Barnett 1952: 214ff). Excavations at the site occurred in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century conducted by the British Museum, and then from 1911 until the outbreak of the First World War by Hogarth, Thompson and finally Leonard Woolley (Summers 2000). In the lower town at the southern foot of the acropolis, next to a great staircase and gateway leading to the acropolis, lies the “Temple of the Storm God” dating to the Iron Age (Woolley & Barnett 1952: pl. 41a).

The temple building is almost square with a thick back wall, about 4 m thick, and side walls just under 2 m thick (Woolley & Barnett 1952: pl. 29). The cella is almost square and the porch is very shallow created by slight projections on the facade of the building, which are wider than the sidewalls (Woolley & Barnett 1952: pl. 29). The temple had an inner court the same width as the temple building and an outer court. The inner court contained an altar and a basalt “laver” in the form of two bulls that Woolley compared to the Bronze “Sea” in the biblical descriptions of Solomon’s Temple (Woolley & Barnett 1952: 167-168). A series of blue glazed bricks with white flowers in relief were found in front of the temple that Woolley thought must have decorated the temple’s facade (Woolley & Barnett 1952: 167).

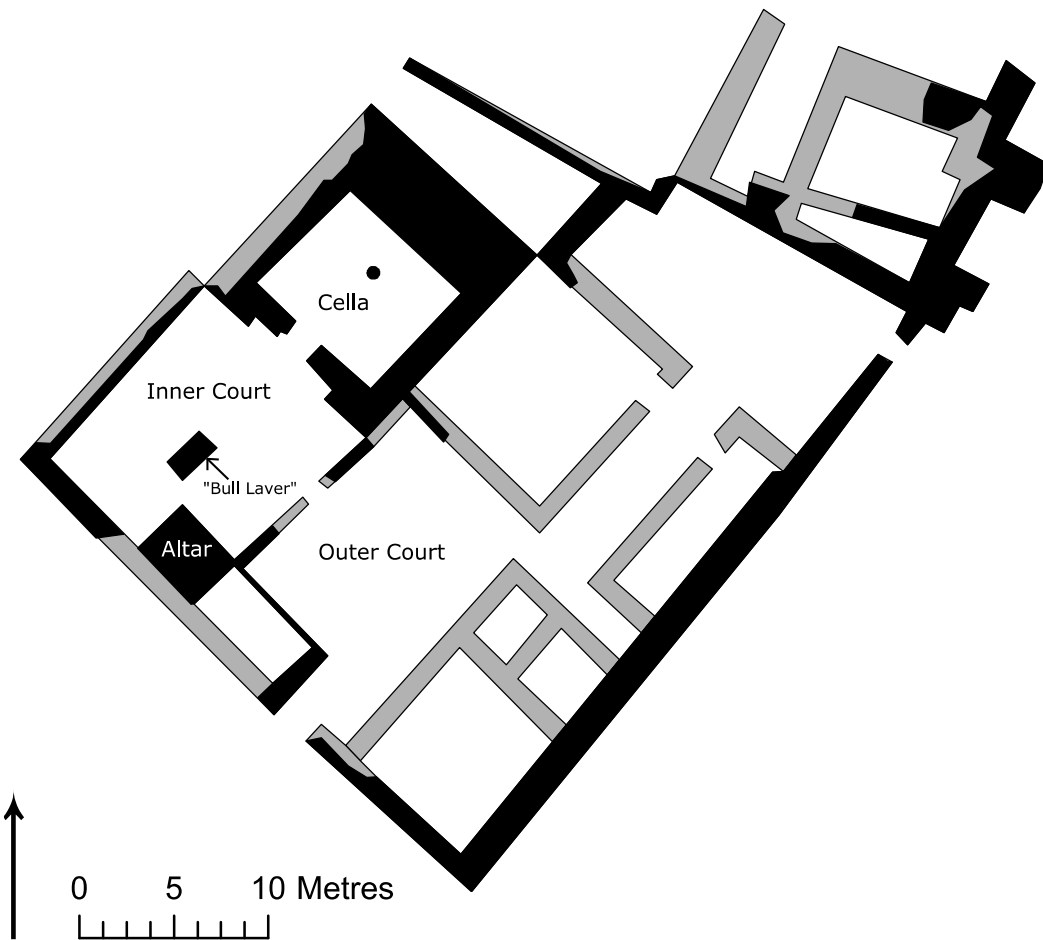


Figure 16- Carchemish, "Temple of the Storm God"

The finds from Carchemish are generally unpublished with the exception of the tomb objects and some of the statuary and stelae (Woolley & Barnett 1952). With regards to the Temple of the Storm God, the only mention of finds is that a number of broken bones of “birds and small animals” and fragments of ivory inlay were found in front of the raised altar in the southeast corner of the inner court (space 8 on Woolley’s plan) (Woolley & Barnett 1952: 167).

### *Tell Chuera*

Tell Chuera is a site of about 70 ha in northeast Syria. It has been excavated systematically since the 1950s with work beginning initially under Anton Moortgat (1958-1977) (Moortgat 1960a; 1960b; 1962; 1965; 1967; Moortgat & Moortgat-Correns 1975; 1976; 1978) After his death, excavations were continued by Moortgat’s wife, Ursula Moortgat-Correns and then

Winfried Orthmann until 1998 (Orthmann et al 1986). Excavations since 1998 have been under the direction of Jan Waalke-Meyer (Waalke-Meyer 2010). The site is a wreath mound, like Tell al-Rawda, meaning that the circular tell is surrounded by large ramparts and both sites look very similar. The site was occupied from the Early Bronze I period, when it existed as a large city with numerous public buildings including palaces and the temples *in antis*, through to the end of the Late Bronze Age by which time the settlement was somewhat smaller (Goethe University 2011).

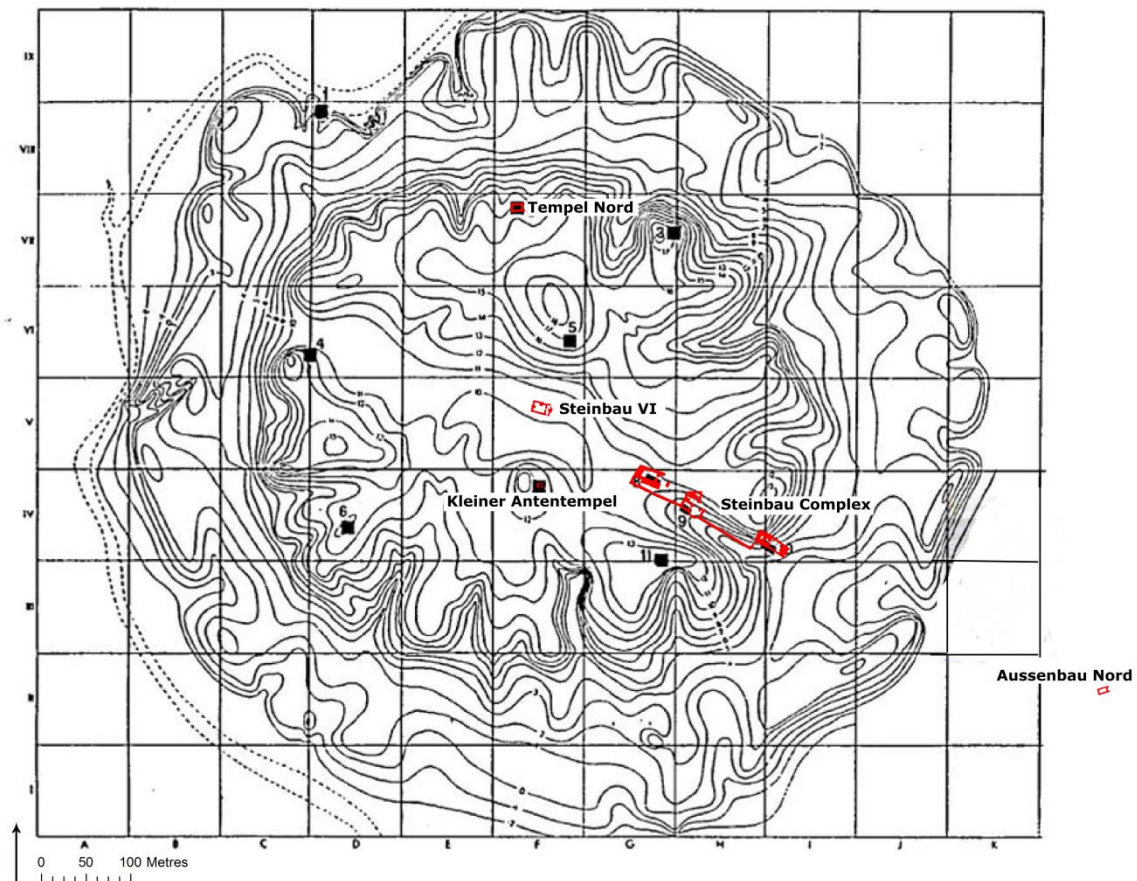
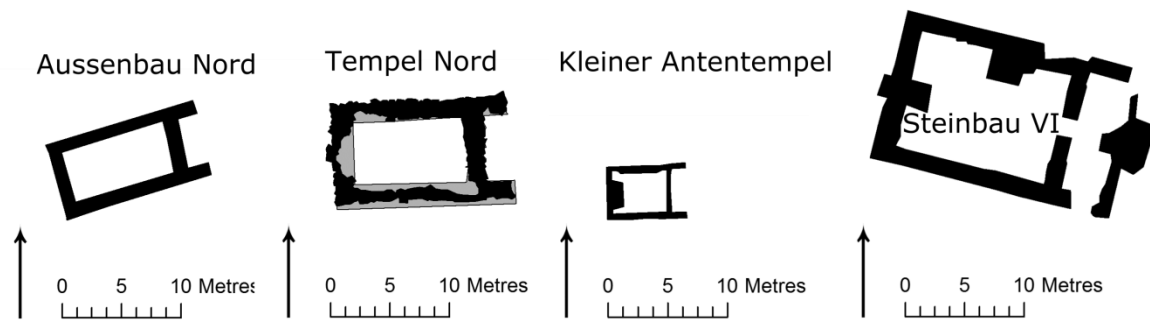


Figure 17- Tell Chuera, Plan of the site showing location of temples in red (after Orthmann 1990, Fig 1)

There have been seven temples *in antis* identified at the site (Orthmann 1990; 2002). The “Aussenbau Nord”, situated in the east of the tell was in a poor state of preservation. 45 m to the south of it was another building, which was too badly preserved to reconstruct the plan. The “Aussenbau Nord” had a typical *in antis* plan with a dividing wall between the cella and porch. The walls had a mudbrick superstructure with stone foundations (Orthmann 1990: 4). The excavators believe that there was a temenos around the temple but the extent is unknown (Orthmann 1990: 4). “Aussenbau Nord” was identified as a temple primarily because of its

proximity to an arrangement of vertical stones that the excavators called the “Stele Road” (Orthmann 1990: 3).



**Figure 18- Tell Chuera, Aussenbau Nord, Tempel Nord, Kleiner Antentempel, & Steinbau VI**

“Steinbau VI” was built on a terrace reached by steps. It has a long room cella and shallow *in antis* porch with a dividing wall between it and the cella (Orthmann 2002: 6). There is a podium directly opposite the doorway against centre of the rear wall (Orthmann 2002: 7). The “Tempel Nord” also had stone foundations and a mudbrick superstructure. It is a typical *in antis* building with a long room cella and dividing wall between the porch and cella. Originally, the building was reconstructed as having a niche in the rear wall of the cella but Orthmann believes that the evidence for such a niche is lacking (Orthmann 1990: 7). 3 m in front of the temple was a large flat stone that has been interpreted as an altar for sacrifices (Orthmann 1990: 7). The “Kleiner antentempel” is constructed entirely of mudbrick. It has a long roomed plan though the cella is proportionally shorter than the other examples from Tell Chuera. The antae are straight but splay outward very slightly. There is a podium in the centre of the rear wall of the cella directly opposite the doorway (Orthmann 1990: 8).

In the south-eastern part of the site, close to the ramparts there is a long complex of temple buildings beginning with Steinbau III in the east and ending with Steinbau I in the west. “Steinbau III” has been badly preserved but the excavators were able to reconstruct the overall plan of the building. It is constructed on a terrace consisting of two large “boxes” of stone and accessed by a staircase to the east. Nothing remains of the building itself but the excavators assume that the building followed the plan of the terrace which would mean that the building had two equally sized rooms, cella and porch, and thick walls (Orthmann 1990: 14). If this is true then “Steinbau III” is similar in plan to the Temple of the Rock at Ebla. “Steinbau II” is a fairly small building constructed of limestone blocks. It is a long room building with short antae and a dividing wall between the porch and the cella (Orthmann

1990: 12). “Steinbau I” is built on a stepped stone and mudbrick terrace raised 7 m from the surrounding area (Orthmann 1990: 15). The building itself is only partially preserved but due to its estimated size and thus presumed importance in the town they believe it was probably a temple *in antis* (Orthmann 1990: 16-17).

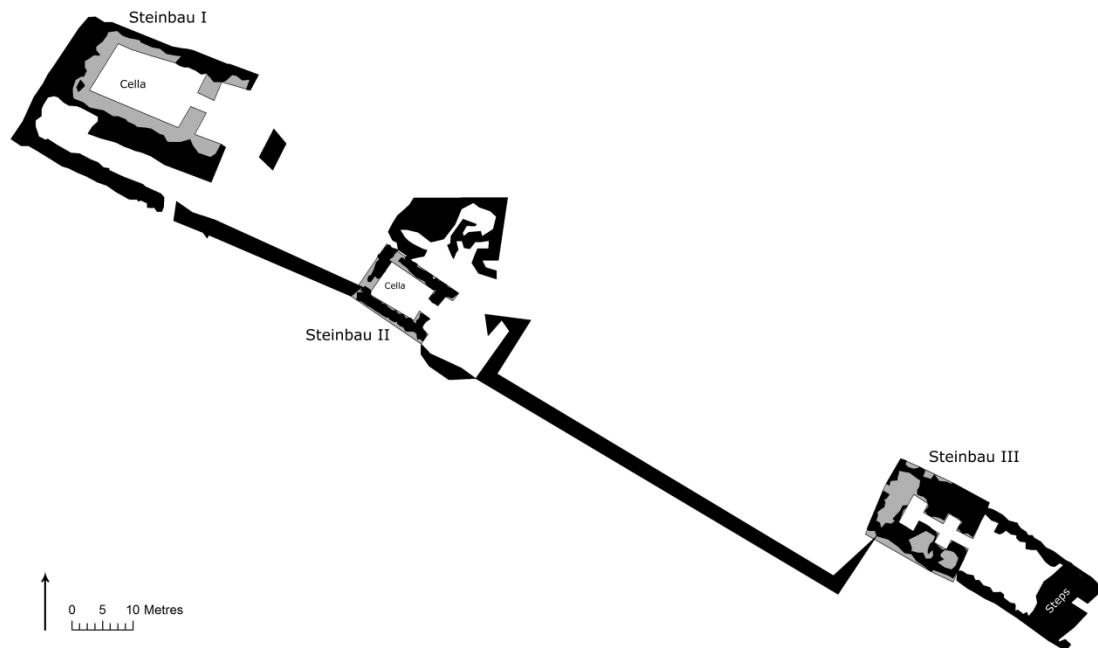


Figure 19- Tell Chuera, plan of the Steinbau Complex, Steinbau I-III

### *Ebla (Tell Mardikh)*

Ebla has been extensively excavated by an Italian expedition led by Paolo Matthiae since 1964 (Pinnock 2001: 13). The site covers around 56 ha in total, with a large lower town and an acropolis roughly in the centre of the site of about 3 ha (Pinnock 2001: 13). The site was completely surrounded by massive earthworks, which were an average of 22 m high (Pinnock 2001: 18). Ebla was an important city, maintaining diplomatic and trading relations with Mesopotamia and Egypt, as well as controlling the trade routes from Mesopotamia and Afghanistan, to the Mediterranean and Egypt.

The site was destroyed, probably by Sargon of Akkad in the late Early Bronze Age but was quickly rebuilt, regaining its old power, only to be destroyed and rebuilt again in the Early Bronze IV/Middle Bronze I. The final destruction of the site, around 1600 B.C.E., was possibly caused by the Hittites or Hurrians, after which the site was occupied by squatters and small rural settlements until modern times (Ebla 2010). The finds from Ebla have not been

consistently published. Only the favissae from the temples in Area P and Area HH1 have been published in any detail (Marchetti & Nigro 1997; 1999; Sala 2012), any finds from the courtyard and interior of these temples are yet to be published. This naturally limits the analysis of the temples at Ebla.



Figure 20- Plan of Ebla showing location of temples in red (after Pinnock 2001: Fig. 1)



There have been fourteen temples excavated at Ebla to date, thirteen of which are temples *in antis*. They date from Early Bronze IVA to Middle Bronze II. Temples B1(Reshef) and N (Shamash) are not like the other temples in the present study since they do not have a dividing wall between the porch and the cella, rather they are long room buildings with two pillars serving to divide the space towards the front (Pinnock 2001: fig. 5; fig. 10). Both of these temples date to the Middle Bronze II. Whilst it could be argued that these temples form a separate type, here they are considered to be temples *in antis* because with the exception of the substitution of a wall for pillars, they share the same plan as the other temples *in antis*. Similarly, Sanctuary G3 is not a typical *in antis* plan but it is included here because it is considered by the author to be a variation of the general type. Sanctuary G3 is a small, almost square building with antae inset from the sidewalls, situated on the acropolis, close to the Area D temples, and dating to the Middle Bronze I (Matthiae 1987: 148; fig. 8). In an adjacent room, also considered cultic by the excavators, were found terracotta liver models, suggesting that the room may have been used for hepatoscopy (Matthiae 1987: 149). The plan with the inset antae is also seen at Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5 and Halawa B.

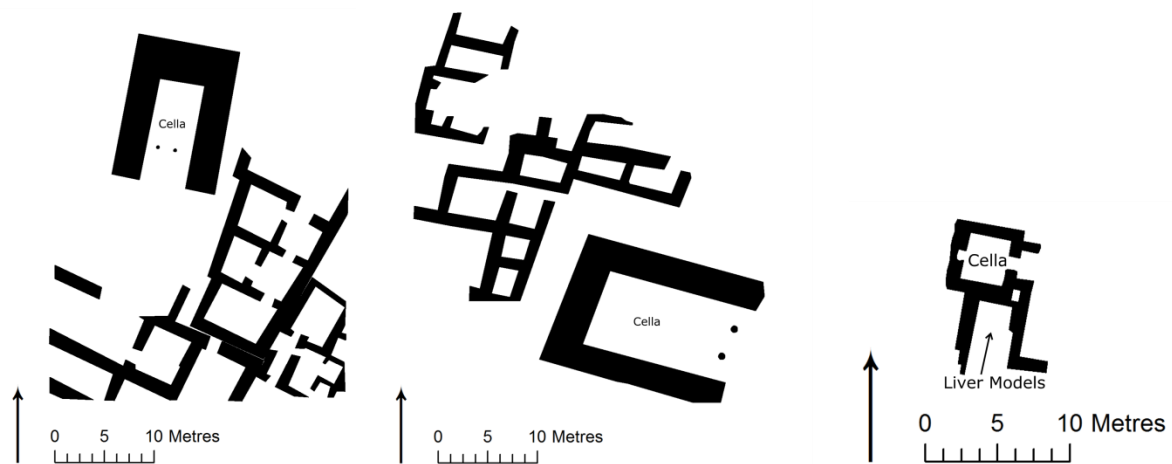


Figure 21- Ebla, left to right: Temple B1, Temple N, and Sanctuary G3

In Area D, three successive temples have been found. The Ishtar temple, dating to the Middle Bronze I-II is the latest and best known of the series of temples. It is a tripartite temple *in antis*, having a long room cella with a niche in the centre of the back wall, a broad antechamber and porch, and walls about 2 m thick (Matthiae 1968: 14; fig. 1). Beneath the Ishtar Temple in Area D were found the remains of two more temples, D2 (Red Temple/Temple Rouge/Tempio Rosso) and D3. The Red Temple dates to Early Bronze IV (Matthiae 2009: 763) and Temple D3, poorly preserved, lies between the Red Temple and the

Ishtar Temple, its exact date uncertain. The Red Temple has an almost square cella, reconstructed as having four pillars although only two were actually found (Matthiae 2009: 766). The porch was deep, created by straight antae, and there were two pillars inside it. The temple had stone foundations and a superstructure of uniform red baked mudbricks from which the name of the temple derives (Matthiae 2009: 765). There has been debate as to how Temple D3 should be reconstructed because of its poor state of preservation. It was considerably smaller than the Red Temple. Matthiae believes that the strongest reconstruction is as a building with a broad roomed cella, a similarly sized antechamber, and a shallow porch with straight antae (Matthiae 2009: 774-775).

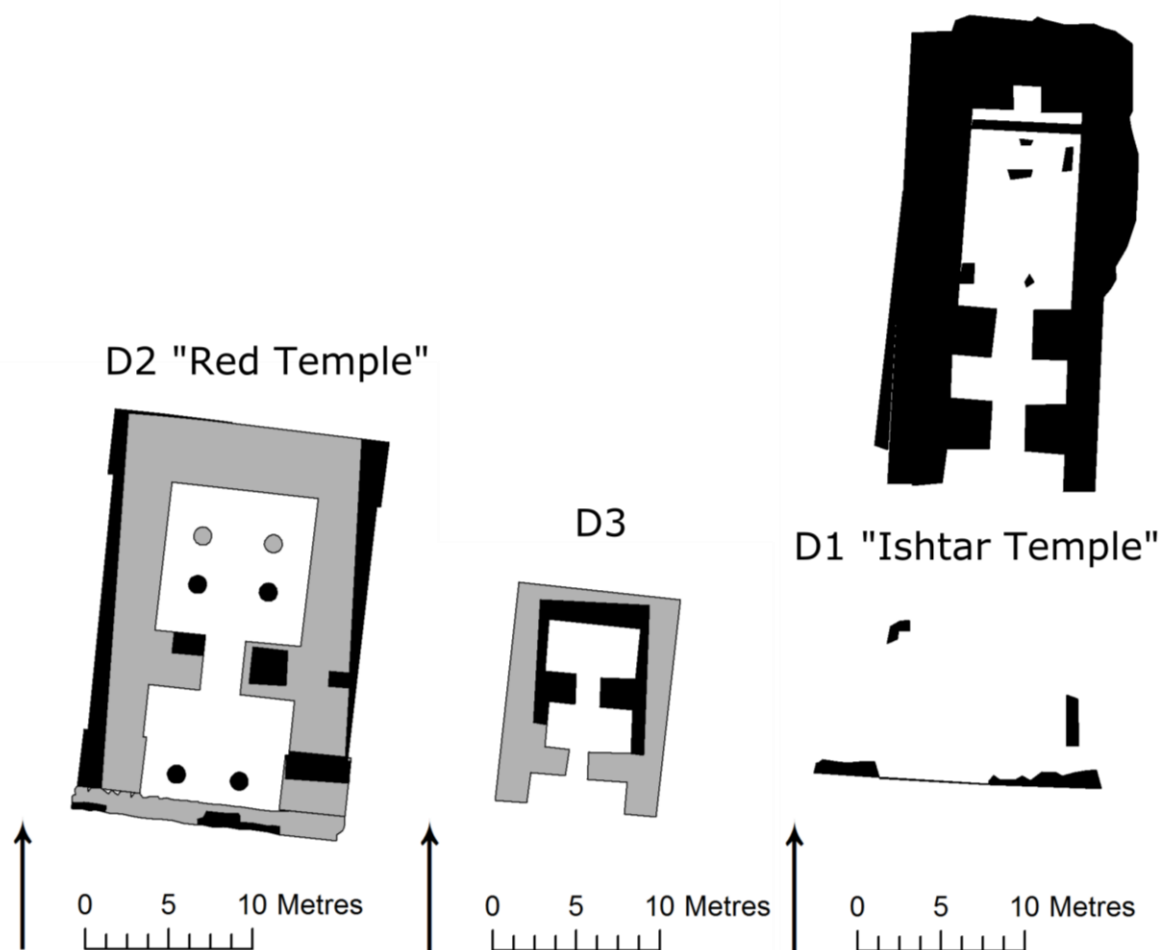


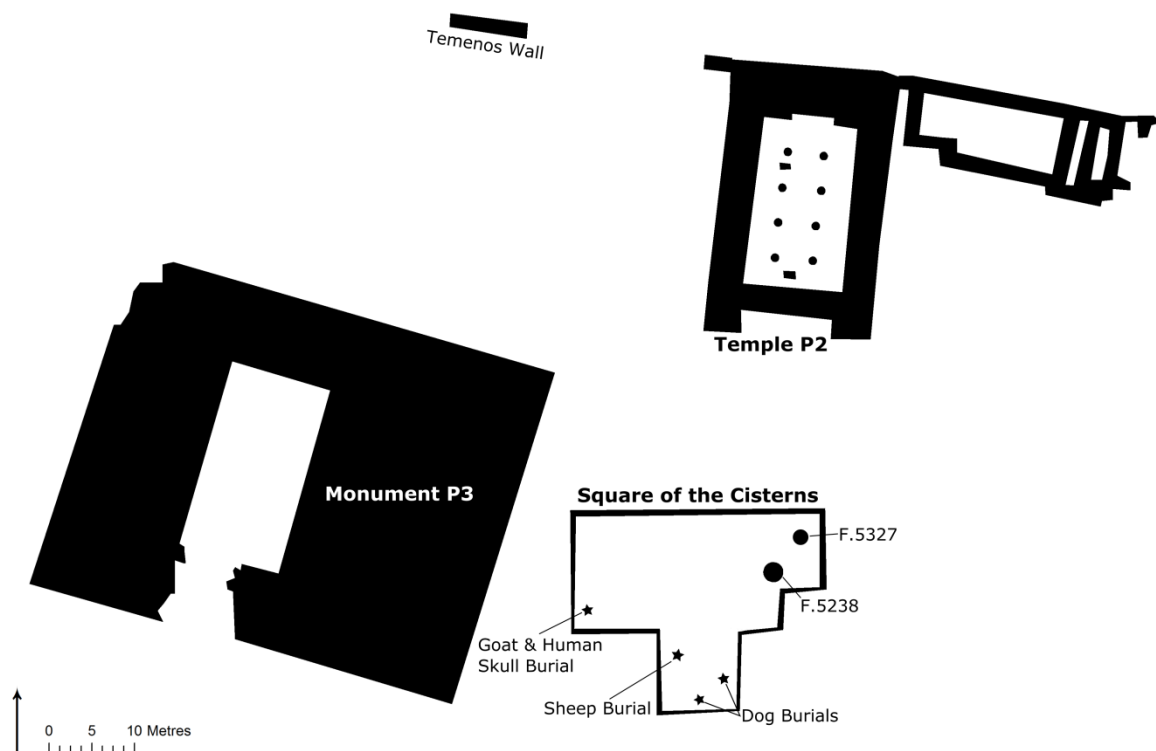
Figure 22- Ebla, three phases of the Area D temple left to right: D2 "Red Temple", Temple D3, D1 "Ishtar Temple"

The temple of Area P has been the most extensively published of all the temples at Ebla. The sacred area discussed here seems to have been built around the very beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, although there is evidence that the area was already used as a sacred space at least in the Early Bronze IV (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 3). The temple itself has a long room cella with a niche in the back wall and a shallow porch. The cella has eight pillars, in two



rows of four. The area P complex also has a large stone structure of unknown function (Monument P3) with a rectangular space inside it, to the southwest of the temple. It has been suggested that this may have been an enclosure for sacred lions associated with the cult of Ishtar, but this is speculative (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 32).

East of Monument P3 is an open area called the Square of the Cisterns by the excavators, in which were found two favissae full of pottery and animal bones, as well as three shallow pits containing articulated and arranged bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 5). The “Square of the Cisterns” was believed to be the focus of cultic activity in this temple in its earliest phase (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 5). The two favissae in the “Square of the Cisterns” are some of the only remains from Ebla to have been published completely and will be used in the analysis below (Marchetti & Nigro 1997; 1999). Favissae F.5327 contained mainly jars and bowls, along with other small objects and animal bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 7). Favissae F.5238 was filled with numerous shattered vessels, a number of complete bowls, small objects, and animal bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 9). It also contained three shallow pits containing articulated and arranged animal and human bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 5; 29).



**Figure 23- Ebla, Area P complex including Monument P3, Square of the Cisterns, & Temple P2**

In Area H, there are four or possibly five consecutive layers of temples (Matthiae 2007: 488). The earliest is the also the most well known, HH1 or the Temple of the Rock (Temple du Rocher/Tempio della Roccia), dating to the Early Bronze IVA (Matthiae 2007: 488). It has an almost square cella, a similarly sized porch formed by antae and walls of about 6 m thick with foundations of limestone pebbles (Matthiae 2006: 459; Fig. 15). Two favissae inside Temple HH1 (The Temple of the Rock) were published in a report which looks at the ceramic typology found in the two pits created during the sealing of the HH1 temple (Sala 2012). These favissae, P.9717 and P.9719 were filled in a single act at the end of the life of Temple HH1 (Sala 2012: 57), before the area was filled and built over by the later temples and by houses in the north and west parts of the area (Matthiae 2007: 494). More than 200 vessels were retrieved from the favissae, with some intact, 50 restorable and the rest fragmentary, with the majority coming from P.9719 (Sala 2012: 58). Sala published 171 of the vessels and they will be included in the detailed analysis below.

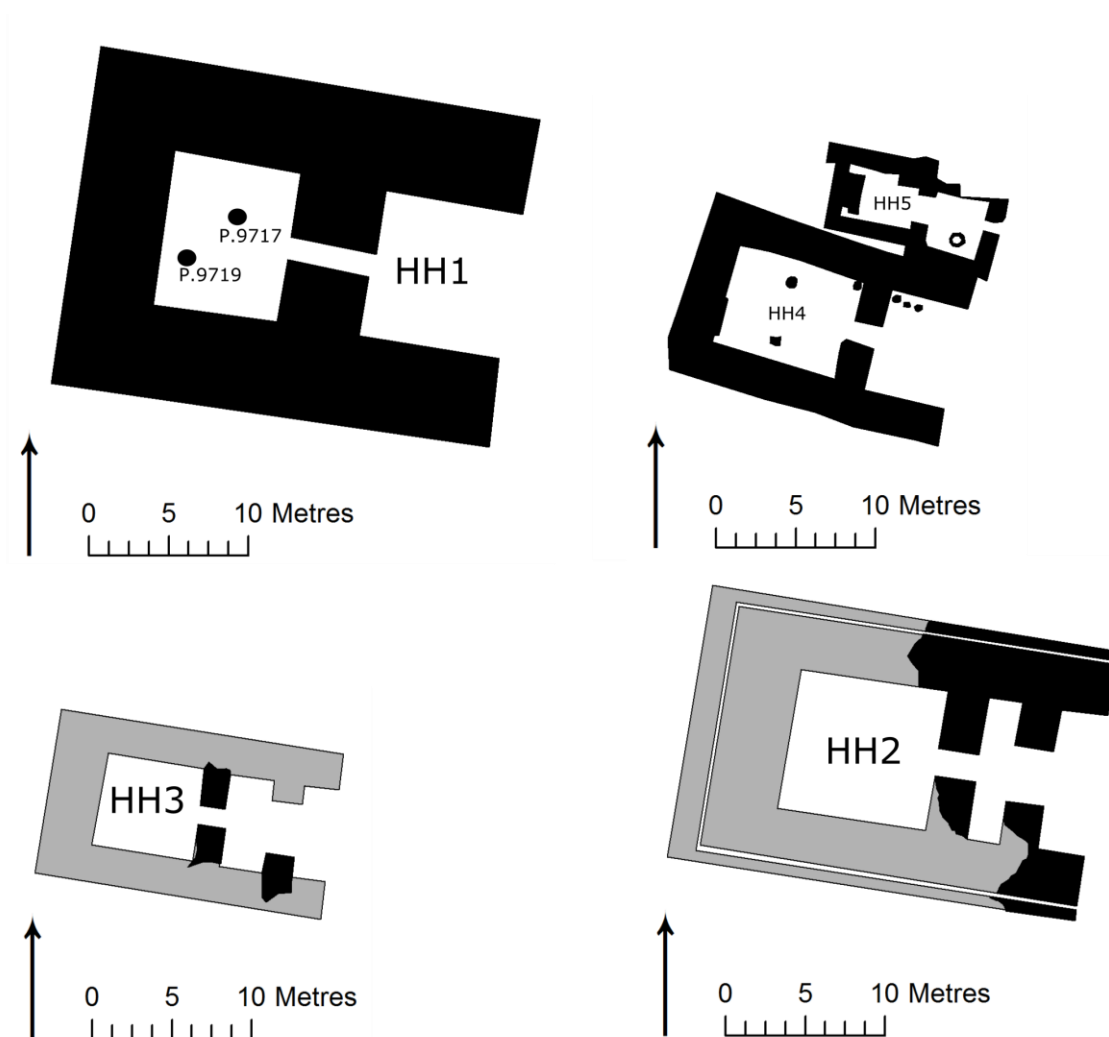


Figure 24- Ebla Area HH Temples: HH1 "Temple of the Rock", HH4 & 5, HH3 and HH2

The partial remains of another mudbrick building (HH6) were found above the Temple of the Rock, dating to the Early Bronze IVB2 (Matthiae 2007: 488; 494). Building HH6 has not been fully excavated so the plan is unknown, but the excavators believe it is probably another temple (Matthiae 2007: 494). In the subsequent layer, dating to the Early Bronze IVB3 two adjacent buildings, HH4 and HH5 were found (Matthiae 2007: 496). Building HH4, to the south is slightly earlier and has a long room *in antis* plan, though on a much smaller scale than the Temple of the Rock (Matthiae 2007: 496; fig. 13). HH5 is an irregular building added to the north wall of Temple HH4, perhaps not strictly a temple *in antis* but as the excavators point out there are similarities between the plans of HH4 and HH5 in that both have a long room cella and a porch, though the porch of HH5 is enclosed by L-shaped antae (Matthiae 2007: 502). Inside Temple HH4 were found many female figurines of the typical Syrian type (Matthiae 2007: 507) seen also in the area P favissae (e.g. Marchetti & Nigro 1997: fig. 11), as well as at other sites (see Badre 1980 for a comprehensive overview of Syrian figurines). An unusual head fragment of a ceramic lion figurine was also found as well as a bead and a statue's eye (Matthiae 2007: 505, 507). Unfortunately, these are the only finds published from the HH4 & 5 temples and no details are given as the precise number of female figurines or the presence of other items and pottery.

The following temple, HH3, dating to the Middle Bronze I was very poorly preserved, the remains consisting only of three segments believed to be part of the dividing walls between the cella, antechamber and porch (Matthiae 2007: 512; fig. 28). The final temple in this sequence is HH2 dating to Middle Bronze II (Matthiae 2007: 488). The cella of Temple HH2 was mostly destroyed but the front part of the building was well preserved, allowing the plan to be reconstructed (Matthiae 2006: 460). According to the reconstruction, the cella was more or less square, there was a broad antechamber, and a broad *in antis* porch (Matthiae 2006: fig. 25). Temple HH2 also had an associated favissa, just outside its southern anta (Matthiae 2006: 481; 2007: 514). The favissa contained more than 200 objects, including numerous male figurines, fragments of chariot models, two administrative clay tablets, and bronze objects (including a snake's head) although these have not been published in any detail (Matthiae 2006: 482, 484; 2007: 514-515). There was also a large amount of pottery in this favissa, mainly various types of bowls (Matthiae 2007: 514; fig. 30). The fact that a number of male figurines and serpent iconography were found in the favissa suggested to the excavators that the temple was dedicated to a male deity like Hadad (Matthiae 2006: 484 *ff*).

*Emar (Tell Meskéné)*

Modern Tell Meskéné was first excavated as part of a salvage operation in 1972 by Margueron, this first season producing cuneiform tablets that identified the site as ancient Emar (Margueron 1982: 11-12). The site is situated at a crossing point on the Euphrates that connected Mesopotamia and Anatolia, but despite its importance, it seems that Emar was under the control of neighbouring states throughout its history. Emar was partially flooded by Lake al-Assad when the Tabqa Dam was built (Margueron 1982: 13). The original excavations uncovered a Hilani palace, four temples, and houses dating to the Late Bronze Age (Margueron 1982: 24ff) and renewed excavations have uncovered remains dating back to the end of the Early Bronze Age (Cooper 2006: 20). The excavation reports from Emar only discuss the architecture discovered and only mention finds in passing.

There are two temples built next to each other in Area E on the southwest promontory of the site, also the highest point of the town (Margueron 1982: 29). The temples are only partially preserved but are reconstructed as having *in antis* porches. Inside the northern, and better preserved of the temples were six square pillar bases arranged in two rows, and a stepped altar towards the back of the room on the central axis (Margueron 1982: 30). Behind the two temples was a large “cultic terrace” with a series of cupules in its surface (Margueron 1982: 29).

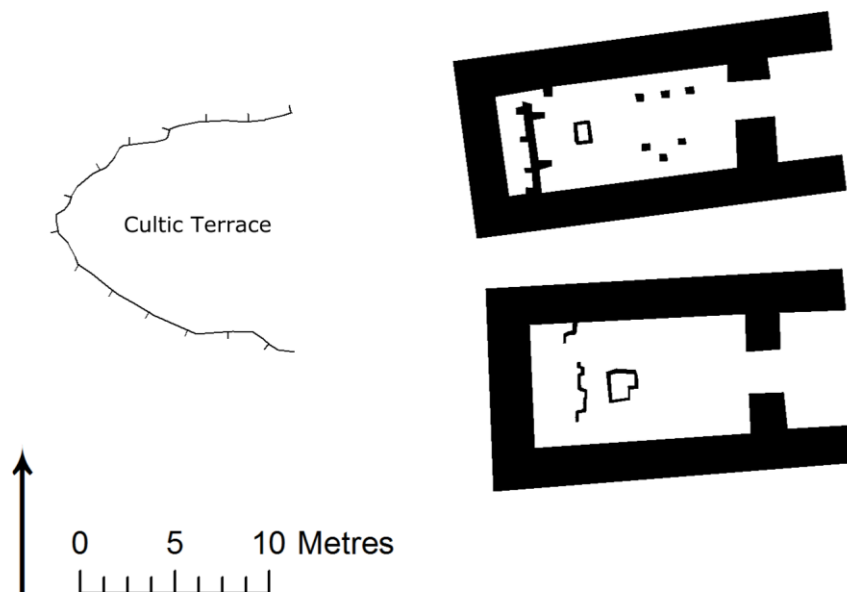


Figure 25- Emar, Twin Temples of Area E

Another *in antis* temple was found in the middle of the town which was called the Temple of the Diviner (Temple du Devin) because of a series of texts found inside it associated with divination (Margueron 1982: 31). This temple had a series of three rooms along one of its long walls and a bench along the rear wall. There was a stepped altar towards the back of the cella on the central axis and behind the temple was a “cultic terrace” (Margueron 1982: 31). Just over 20 m to the southwest of the Temple of the Diviner was the Second Temple, which was slightly larger with thicker walls (Margueron 1982: 32). The antae of the Second Temple were thicker than the long walls of the building meaning that the porch was slightly narrower than the cella (Margueron 1982: fig. 7). The Second Temple also had a stepped altar towards the back of the cella on the central axis and also two steps up to the temple in the porch (Margueron 1982: 32). In the forecourt of the Second Temple were found a series of ceramic “cones” probably used to decorate the facade (Margueron 1982: 32; fig. 9).

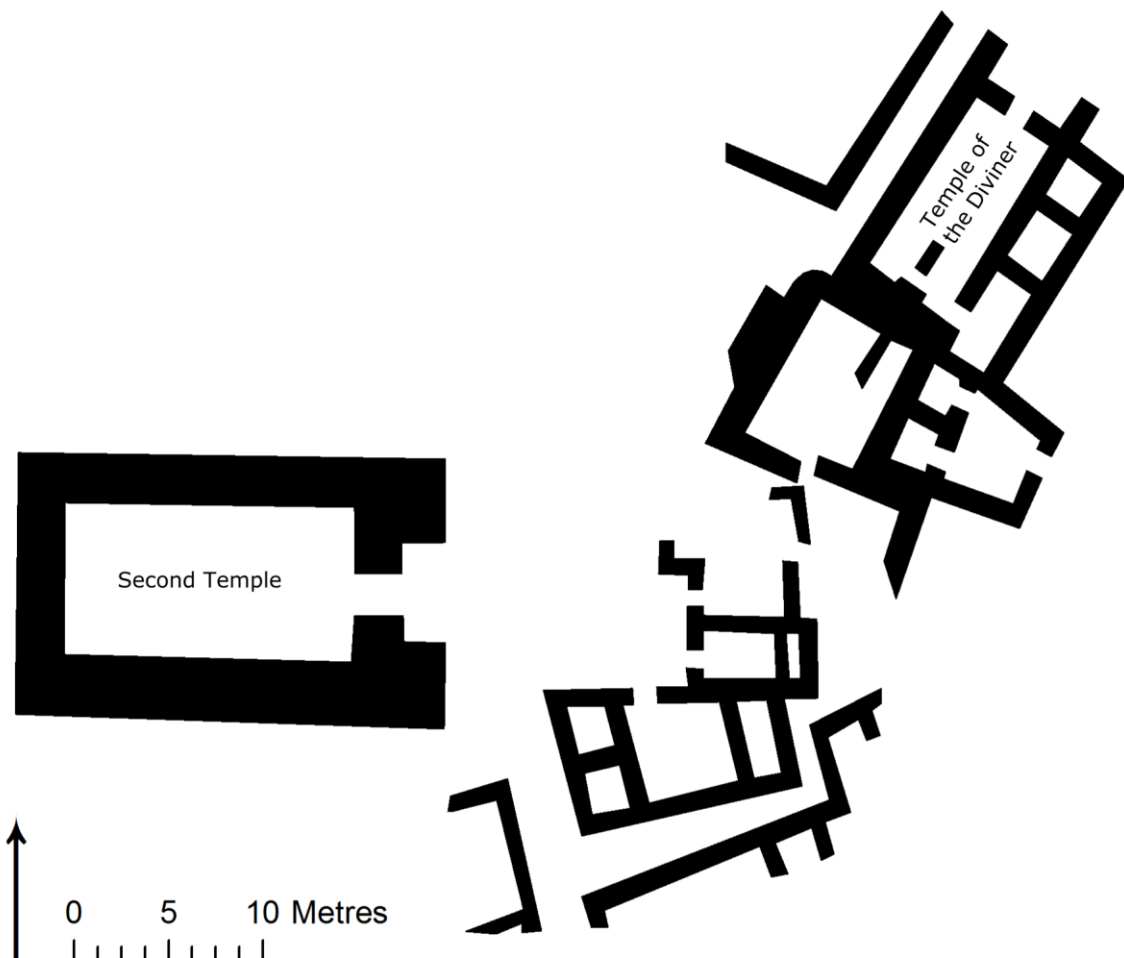


Figure 26- Emar, Second Temple (Left) and Temple of the Diviner (Right)

## *Halawa*

The site of Halawa is actually two tells, A and B. Halawa B is the earlier site, dating to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age and it is about 1.4 ha in size (Cooper 2006: Table 3.1). It was abandoned around the middle of the third millennium, possibly because the location had limited space available for expansion (Cooper 2006: 53). Halawa A is the larger tell, 15.75 ha, situated to the southeast of Halawa B, and was settled from the middle of the Early Bronze Age (Cooper 2006: fig. 3.1; Table 3.1).

Both sites had an *in antis* building although those at Halawa B are often considered not to be true temples *in antis* since the overall plan does not follow the “typical” temple *in antis* plan (Castel 2010: 127). They are included here because it is suggested that these earlier buildings are the direct ancestor of the later Halawa A temple, particularly Building I which bears similarities to the Tell el-Hayyat temples. Halawa B Building II is broad roomed with entrances in both the eastern and western walls. One of these entrances is flanked by L-shaped antae, which are extensions of the sidewall so this is probably the main entrance, the other doorway leads to an open space flanked on the north by two small rooms. Both the front and rear walls of the building are decorated with niches and buttresses. The building is constructed on a raised platform, 1 m high and there is a podium on the northern wall of the cella so this building may have had a bent axis if this was the base for the cult image (Cooper 2006: 144).

Building I at Halawa B is a square structure with antae inset from the sidewalls creating a small porch only a fraction of the length of the front wall. It is built directly over Building II but the building is shortened on its north-south axis and the entrance is moved to the southern wall. The sidewalls retain the series of niches and buttresses that decorated the front and back of Building II (Cooper 2006: 146). In plan, this temple is very similar to the earlier temples at Tell el-Hayyat, with the inset antae (Hayyat 5) and the niched facade (Hayyat 4 and 3). Just over 5 m to the east of Building I is another building called the Small Temple (1c) which is an almost square structure with antae of unequal thicknesses projecting from the corners of the southern wall. The entrance is not centralised and is at the western end of the southern wall (Cooper 2006: 146).

The irregular plan of this building is not in keeping with the traditional layout of a temple *in antis* but it is included here to make the study as complete as possible. In both Building II and I there is a temenos wall excavated to the south and north of the temple buildings (Cooper 2006: 145; 146). Beneath Buildings I and II were three structures that may have been temples since they have irregular projections on the exterior however the only evidence for their cultic nature is the presence of these possible antae (Cooper 2006: 144). Furthermore, there is another building in the same level with a more traditional *in antis* entrance that is not considered cultic, which could suggest that the projections may have been a peculiarity of the architecture of this layer.

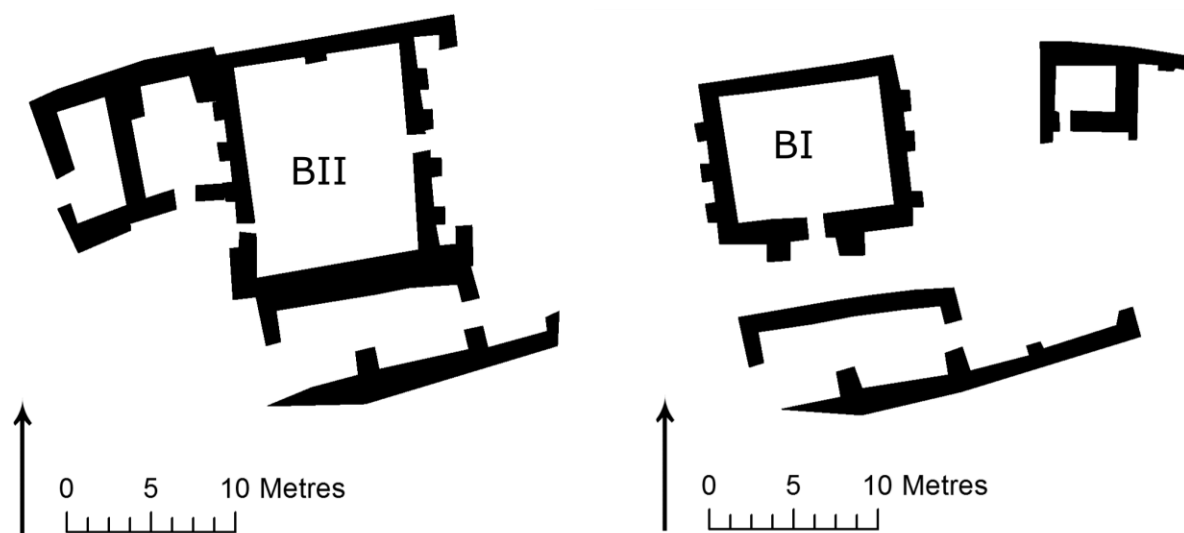


Figure 27- Halawa B, Building II (left) and Building I (right)

The building at Halawa A is a typical *in antis* building, having a single long room with thick walls (about 3 m thick) and antae projecting directly forward from the sidewalls. There is a courtyard in front and along the southern side of the temple and the complex is enclosed within a temenos wall with a gatehouse to the east giving access to the enclosure (Cooper 2006: 150-151). There is a mudbrick podium against the centre of the back wall inside the cella directly opposite the entrance so the building was aligned on a central axis (Cooper 2006: 152). There was also a mudbrick bench against the northeast corner of the cella and a raised area of baked tiles in the centre of the room (Cooper 2006: 152).

Two excavation reports exist for Halawa but although both of them publish some of the finds, they do not discuss the find spots of the artefacts so the temple finds are not specified (Orthmann 1981; 1989). There does however seem to have been a lack of finds in the earlier irregular temples at Halawa B (Cooper 2006:144) and only a carved alabaster jar was found

in the Halawa A temple, beneath the podium against the rear wall. Stelae fragments were also found, carved with figures (Cooper 2006: 152). In one of the rooms surrounding the temple at Halawa A a number of vessels were found, many with applied or incised figurative decoration (Cooper 2006: 155; fig. 7.6).



Figure 28-Halawa A, Building I

### *Tel Haror*

Tel Haror is a site in the Negev, identified with ancient Gerar (Klenck 2002: 29). Excavations between 1982 and 1992, under the direction of Eliezer Oren have uncovered occupation from the Middle Bronze Age through to the Islamic Period, as well as some scanty Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age remains (Klenck 2002:29). There is a lower tell covering about 16 ha and an upper tell in the northwest corner about 1.5 ha in size. The site has a rampart and moat surrounding it and excavations have uncovered a large building in the south east of the lower town that is possibly a palace (Katz 2000: 42). The temple area was found on the south west part of the lower tell and was badly disturbed by later pits and by Turkish trenches constructed in World War I (Klenck 2002: 30-31).

Despite the later disturbance, the excavations uncovered three phases of a temple dating to the Middle Bronze Age II that seems to be *in antis*. It has relatively thick walls though in overall plan it is much smaller than the more well known temples *in antis* from Shechem, Hazor, and Megiddo, being closer in size to the last phase of the temple at Tell el-Hayyat. The temple itself remains relatively unchanged throughout its life; it is the addition of



outbuildings that define the different strata. There is a courtyard along the northeast side of the temple and probably in front as well although the full extent is not known. This existed in the earliest phase (Stratum V). In Stratum IVb two rooms are built at the east edge of the courtyard (Eastern Rooms, North and South). In Stratum IVa, these rooms are further subdivided into Eastern Rooms 1-6. Also in Stratum IVb the Bench Room, so called because it has benches around the walls, is built along the northern courtyard wall and abutting the North Eastern Room, and continues in use into the final phase of the temple. In the courtyard itself, there were a number of pits containing articulated remains of puppies and crows (Klenck 2002: 32). Just outside the north-eastern wall of the courtyard was a circular structure (Building 8624) containing the articulated remains of a donkey beneath fill, which contained more equid and other animal bones (Klenck 2002: 53).

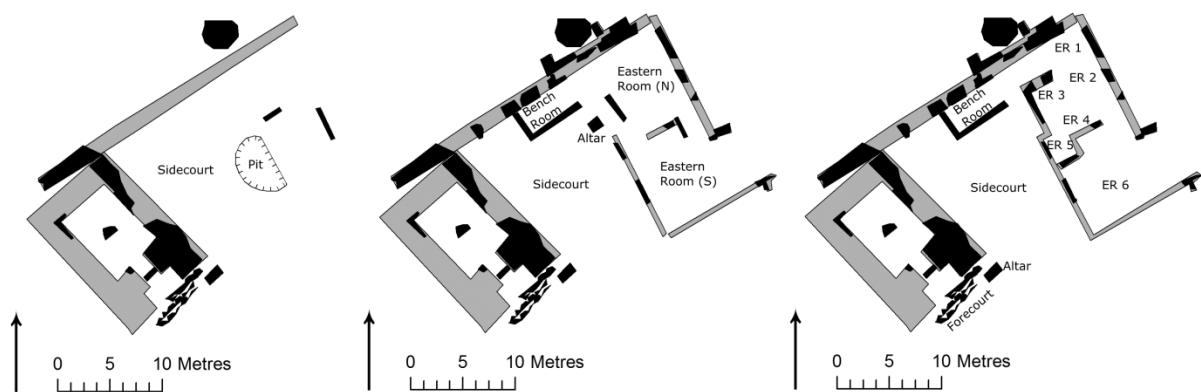


Figure 29- Tel Haror Temple Area, left to right: Stratum V, Stratum IVb, Stratum IVa

The finds from Tel Haror have been studied in two main works, the ceramics by Jill Katz (2000), and the faunal data by Joel D. Klenck (2002). They offer enough detail to allow Tel Haror to be used as a case study for analysis below although because of the focus of the studies, some of the contexts of the finds and some of the details of specific small finds for example are lacking. The most distinguishing feature of the Tel Haror temple is the multiple burials of dogs and crows found within the courtyard mentioned above, often associated with ceramics and miniature vessels (Klenck 2002; Katz 2000) (see analysis below).

### *Tell el-Hayyat*

Tell el-Hayyat is a small rural site, only about 0.5 ha in size. There were six phases of ancient occupation dating from the Early Bronze IV to the end of the Middle Bronze Age (Falconer & Fall 2006: Table 2.1), evidenced by discovery of domestic buildings and four consecutive temples (Falconer & Fall 2006: 33ff). The site was first recorded by Nelson Glueck in his

survey of Palestine and was excavated between 1982 and 1985 under the direction of Steven Falconer (Falconer & Fall 2006: 18).

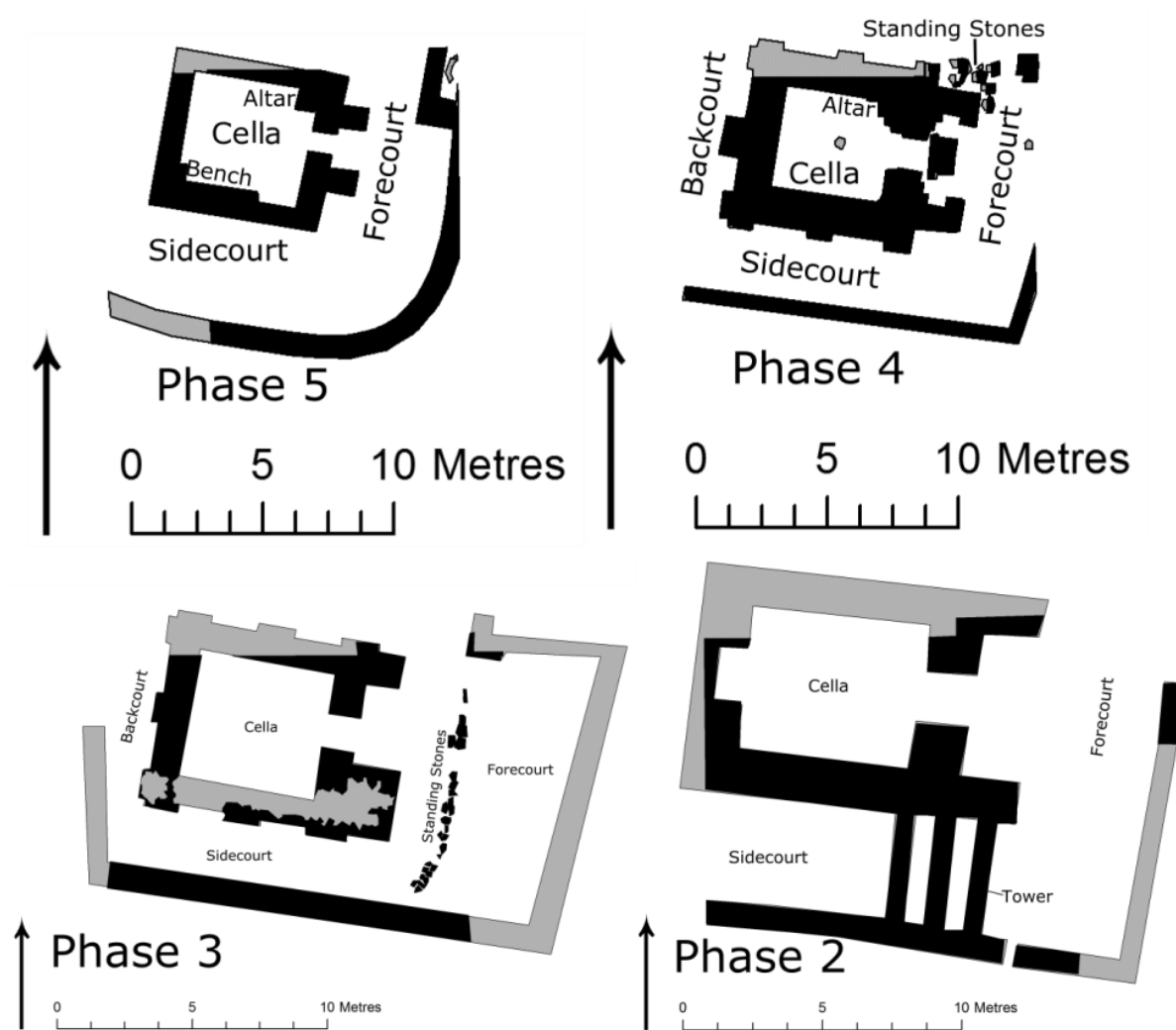


Figure 30- Tell el-Hayyat Temples, Phases 5-2

The first temple in the series, Phase 5 (Middle Bronze I) is an almost square structure made from mudbrick. The antae are inset from the sidewall creating a porch a fraction of the width of the temple. In the cella, there is a mudbrick bench against the southwest corner, which had a bronze figurine embedded in it, and a stepped altar in the northeast corner (Falconer & Fall 2006: 87). The Phase 4 temple (also Middle Bronze I) is slightly larger and built directly over the Phase 5 temple, again in mudbrick. The outside of the walls in this phase were decorated with niches and buttresses and there were L-shaped antae projecting from the corners of the front of the building (Falconer & Fall 2006: 88). In the north eastern corner of the cella is again a stepped altar, this time with a jar embedded in its surface containing beads and a small copper ingot. A bench runs around the entire cella (Falconer & Fall 2006: 88). In the

forecourt of the Phase 4 temple, next to the northern anta are six standing stones, each about 1 m high (Falconer & Fall 2006: 93).

The Phase 3 temple (Middle Bronze I/II) is roughly the same size as the Phase 4 temple but the forecourt is larger. The foundations of this temple were made from stone and the superstructure was of mudbrick (Falconer & Fall 2006: 96). The southern anta in this phase is enlarged, possibly to form the base of a tower (Falconer & Fall 2006: 98). As in Phase 4 there was a row of standing stones about 2 m in front of the temple stretching almost the full width of the building (Falconer & Fall 2006: 96). Phase 2, the final temple at Tell el-Hayyat (Middle Bronze II/III), was larger than the previous buildings, again made from mudbrick with stone foundations. In this phase, the temple has a typical *in antis* plan with a long room cella, straight antae, and a niche in the centre of the back wall directly opposite the entrance (Falconer & Fall 2006: 100). The exterior of the walls were plastered and painted red. Against the exterior of the southern wall of the temple at the eastern end were three parallel walls at right angles to the building, which have been interpreted as the foundation for a tower (Falconer & Fall 2006: 100). In all the phases the Tell el-Hayyat temples have an enclosure wall separating the temple and courtyard from the surrounding domestic structures. The small size of the Tell el-Hayyat temples is similar to the temples at Tell Kittan, also in the Jordan Valley, as well as Halawa and Tel Haror.

The finds from Tell el-Hayyat are perhaps the most intensively published of all the temples in this study. The excavation report (Falconer *et al* 2006) included a database containing all finds registered on the dig, including animal bones and botanical remains allowing for a detailed study of the relationship between architecture and the finds. Tell el-Hayyat will therefore be used as one of the case studies for detailed analysis below.

### *Hazor*

Hazor is a large site in modern day northern Israel, around 82 ha in size, with a 12 ha upper city in the south and a lower mound extending to the northwest of the acropolis (Negev 1990: 169). It was occupied from the Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period, though the lower mound was only occupied in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Negev 1990: 170). In the Middle Bronze Age, a large rampart surrounded the site and was probably reused in the Late Bronze Age when the city was rebuilt following a destruction at the end of the Middle Bronze

Age. The site was destroyed again in the Late Bronze Age but rebuilt as a fortified city in the Iron Age when the six chambered gate and water system was built (Negev 1990: 170). It was first excavated by Garstang in 1928, then Yadin between 1955 and 1969, then by Amnon Ben-Tor (recently co-director with Sharon Zuckerman) from 1990 onwards.

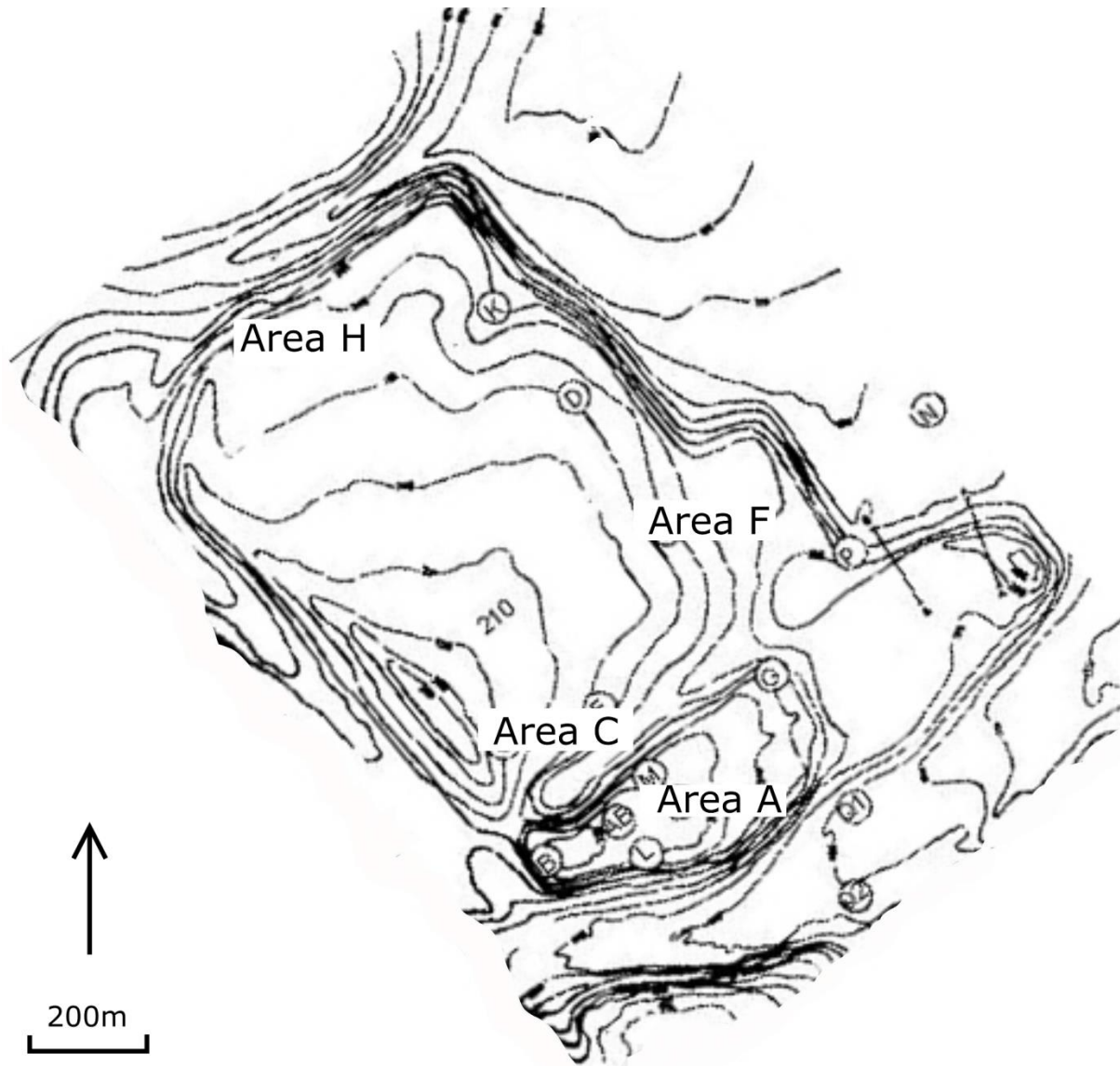


Figure 31- Plan of Hazor showing excavation areas with temples

There are six temples excavated at the site, of which four are of importance for this study: Hazor Area A- Long, White, and Black, and Hazor H. The other two temples, C and F are not *in antis*, C being a broad roomed structure with irregular walls in which was found several rows of stelae (Yadin 1972: 67-74), and F being initially a double square building and later a single square building, similar in plan to the Amman Airport Temple (Yadin 1972: 98-99). Hazor C and F will form part of the comparison chapter below.



**Figure 32- Hazor Area H Temple, Strata 3-1a**

Hazor H, on the north western edge of the lower tell, is an *in antis* building, with antae in the form of towers built in the Middle Bronze II period (Stratum 3), and decorated with orthostats. The cella is broad with a niche in the centre of the back wall and two pillars in the centre of the space. In the first phase, there is a platform adjacent to the front of the temple with steps leading up to it (Yadin et al. 1989a: 219). In the Late Bronze I (Stratum 2), the temple was rebuilt to the same plan but without the platform/steps (Yadin et al. 1989a: 223-228). There was a courtyard in front of the temple which contained an altar, a kiln, and a store room, as well as there being a gatehouse between this forecourt and an outer court (Yadin 1989a: 228-230). The temple was rebuilt again in the Late Bronze Age II (Stratum

1b), along the same plan except for the addition of a new porch, slightly narrower than the width of the temple, in front of the previous tower flanked porch. The towers were retained and the space between became an antechamber (Yadin 1972: 75-95). The forecourt and outer court in this phase are separated by a narrow wall and the outer court contained a large pit, which seems to have been used as a dump for old temple paraphernalia (ceramics and other items) (Yadin 1989a: 247). The final phase (Stratum 1a), also dating to the Late Bronze II, retained more or less the same plan as the previous temples, although the courtyard is not as well preserved in this phase (Yadin 1989a: 257-264).

Area A is situated on the acropolis in the south eastern part of the site. The Long Temple in Hazor Area A is not strictly a temple *in antis*, but it does have the long room plan. It is included in this study because it has been classed as a variant of the general type by other authors and it does seem to share many features of the temple in antis (for example the symmetrical plan and central axis) despite the lack of a porch (e.g. Mazar 1992). Parts of the Long Temple have been badly damaged by the later six-chambered gate and since the gate was not removed when excavating the temple, there are parts of the complex that are still obscured. The walls have stone foundations with a mudbrick superstructure. The cella of the Long Temple has a bench against the rear wall and the entrance is in the centre of the opposite wall. There is a large plastered courtyard marked by a wall on all sides and three parallel walls, thought to be the base of a tower near the staircase that was the main entrance to the temple complex. Outside the walls are a series of rooms some of which were deemed cultic as well, and two others that the excavators thought were associated with making cultic objects for the temple (Yadin *et al* 1989: 11-24).

The Hazor excavation reports offer a relatively comprehensive catalogue of the finds from the Long Temple and the Area H temples, although it should be noted that only the most diagnostic finds are published meaning that the data is somewhat skewed (Yadin *et al* 1958, 1960, 1989; Ben-Tor *et al* 1997). Faunal data is not considered, as is to be expected from excavations at the time; however, the texts do note particularly large deposits of animal bones. Although the finds from the Long Temple and Area H are by no means completely published, they do contain enough data that they can be used in the analysis below.

To the south of the Long Temple is another large building, the Black Building (7050), which has a square main room with a broad porch and smaller room along the sides and back of the

building. There has been debate as to whether this building is a palace or temple (Bonfil & Zarzecki-Peleg 2007; Ben-Tor 2008). The Black Building is architecturally similar to the Hazor H temple and the AI Temple at Tell Afis, but the finds within it, and additional rooms around the main hall have suggested to the excavators that it is in fact an early form of the Hilani style of palace (Bonfil & Zarzecki-Peleg 2007: 40). Zuckerman however points out the large number of bowls, miniature vessels and animal bones, as well as more “special finds” such as statues of deities, are more similar to the assemblages from other Hazor temples and as such she believes that the Black Building should be identified as a monumental temple (Zuckerman 2012: 114). She believes that the Long Temple and the Black Building should be seen as part of a larger ceremonial precinct (Zuckerman 2012: 114). Zuckerman’s argument is convincing and her interpretation of the Black Building as a temple is followed here.



**Figure 33- Hazor Area A, Long Temple, White Temple, Black Building, and spatial arrangement of the Area A buildings**

The finds from the Black Building have not been fully published but Zuckerman's article on feasting discusses the major types of vessels found in the Black Building (Zuckerman 2007: 197). Because the occupation of the Black Building seems to have finished with a sudden destruction, it produced a large quantity of restorable vessels and other items (Zuckerman 2007: 197). The majority of the ceramic assemblage consisted of bowls and chalices, accounting for 70% of the restorable vessels. Cooking vessels and other food preparation vessels make up 7% of the assemblage and jugs, juglets, and goblets account for 6% of the restorable assemblage. Large pithoi (storage jars) account for 4% of the assemblage each holding around 180 litres and probably containing olive oil (Zuckerman 2007: 199). Short term storage vessels like kraters make up less than 1% of the assemblage, however because these items would have served a number of people, we should expect to see them in lower numbers than bowls and goblets, which the contents are decanted into. Cultic and votive vessels account for 10% of the restorable assemblage, with this category comprising mainly miniature vessels but also different types of lamps, house models and weights (Zuckerman 2007: 199). Most of the ceramic remains came from the side rooms which had a particular abundance of bowls. The room to the north of the porch contained the majority of the pithoi whilst the main hall or cella had the most "cultic" objects such as miniature vessels and lamps (Zuckerman 2007: Fig. 5).

A number of bronze figurines of males and animals were found in the temple, as well as a number of bronze weapons and tools. Statuettes in stone and ivory were uncovered (some of which were Egyptian) as well as faience vessels, and personal accessories (including various semi-precious stone beads and gold and silver jewellery). Foreign vessels were relatively rare in the Black Building compared to the rest of Hazor (Zuckerman 2007: 199). The majority of the animal bones were found in the courtyard of the Black Building, concentrated especially on the podium in the centre (Zuckerman 2007: 195; 199). About 65% of the assemblage is sheep/goat, and 30% cattle with the remaining bones consisting of pig, equid, dog, gazelle/deer, bird (ducks) and fish. Heads and limbs are particularly well represented, possibly suggesting the slaughter of animals on site while certain cuts were taken away for consumption elsewhere (Zuckerman 2007: 195).

The so-called White Building or Southern Temple is situated to the south of the Long Temple and north of the Black Building, but predates them both and was filled and sealed before the building of the other two structures (Zuckerman 2012: 112). The function of the White



Building has been subject to debate. In plan it follows a typical long room *in antis* plan with a niche in the rear wall of the cella, there is also a pit in the centre of the main room containing pottery and bones. The building has been quite poorly preserved and as such, no doorway survives. Bonfil and Zarzecki-Peleg believe that the entrance must have been in the eastern (long) wall; they also believe that the pit was a simple storage pit and thus they think that it was not a temple (Bonfil & Zarzecki-Peleg 2007: 32). Ben-Tor on the other hand thinks that the entrance would have been in the short wall opposite the niche and that the pit was in fact a favissa (Ben-Tor 2008: 97-98). The pit does indeed resemble other favissae found in contemporary temples, for example, those at Ebla, in that it contained votive bowls, chalices, incense burners, and charred animal bones amongst other things and does seem to indicate a cultic assemblage. The similarity of the plan to other temples *in antis* is also very clear, and although architecture alone cannot define the cultic nature of the building, the plan and the favissa finds, not to mention the proximity of the White Building to the later Long Temple and Black Building seems to suggest that it is indeed a temple. Although it has not been completely published, the White Building finds, mainly those from the favissa, will be used as part of the case study chapter below.

### *Tell Kabir*

Tell Kabir is a site on the Euphrates, now flooded by Lake al-Assad. It is a third Millennium site associated with nearby Tell Banat, and Tell Banat North, all three creating an extended settlement complex (Porter 1995: 125). Tell Banat is a 25 ha walled settlement and Tell Banat North is a large monumental mound measuring 100 m across. Tell Kabir is a small mound, only 2.3 ha in size and originally thought to be simply a satellite village of the larger Tell Banat but is now known to have had a long history, sometimes existing independently of the larger site (Porter 1995: 125). The Tell Banat complex, including Tell Kabir, was excavated in the late 1980s by Anne Porter and Thomas McClellan as part of the salvage operation in response to the building of the Tishrin Dam.

At Tell Kabir, about half of the stone foundations of a temple *in antis* were excavated (Porter 1995: 126). The walls were plastered with mud and straw, believed to be a backing for lime plaster (Porter 1995: 127). The building seems to follow a typical long room *in antis* plan with a dividing wall between the porch and cella. Porter was cautious in identifying the building as a temple (Porter 1995: 131) but Cooper later suggested that there was enough

evidence to include it in her corpus of Syrian Temples *in antis* (Cooper 2006: 155). Very few finds from Tell Kabir were published since at the moment only a preliminary report exists. In addition, since the only one corner of the temple's interior was excavated in trial trenches, the data is by no means complete. The finds consist of a relatively high number (64) of beads of frit, stone and shell as well as about 40 bowl and jar sherds (Porter 1995: 129-138). Also present were two ceramic zoomorphic figurine fragments as well as pieces of lapis, ostrich shell, limestone, and metal, some of which were probably inlays (Porter 1995: 129). The large number of bowls is consistent with the finds at other sites where bowls seem to dominate the temple assemblages.

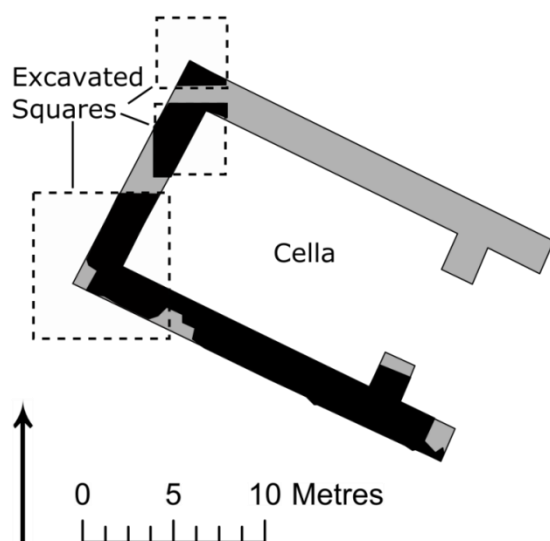


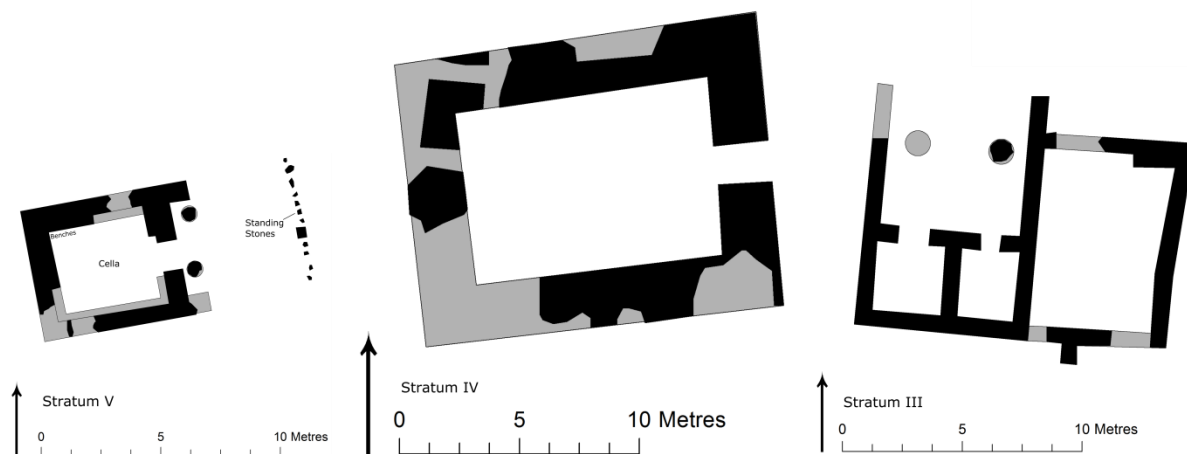
Figure 34- Tell Kabir Temple

### *Tell Kittan*

Tell Kittan is a small site in the Jordan Valley, badly damaged by construction work and erosion. Four seasons of excavation were conducted between 1975 and 1977 by Emmanuel Eisenberg. The site has been poorly published, only a short preliminary report was presented so the finds are only very briefly mentioned (Eisenberg 1977). The site is around 0.7 ha in size and was occupied from the Chalcolithic through to the Umayyad and Mamaluk periods, with the largest settlement existing in the Early Bronze I after which the site was abandoned until the Middle Bronze II. The site was then occupied continuously until the early Late Bronze Age (Eisenberg 1977: 77-8).

The only temple at the site that is actually a temple *in antis* is also the earliest, from Stratum V, dated to the Middle Bronze II period based on the pottery (Eisenberg 1977: 78). The

temple was 5.5 x 6.9 m, and had stone foundations with a mudbrick superstructure and a mudbrick bench around the interior walls (Eisenberg 1977: 78). The *in antis* porch had two pillars inside it and four flat stones within the temple may have been pillar bases. In the courtyard, there was a row of standing stones, one of which was carved into the shape of a nude woman (Eisenberg 1977: 78). The small size of the temple and the standing stones are similar to what was found at Tell el-Hayyat. Interestingly in the Stratum V temple, no vessels were found within the temple itself, the excavators believed they had been removed prior to the destruction of the temple (Eisenberg 1977: 78).



**Figure 35- The Tell Kitten Temples, Stratum V, Stratum IV, Stratum III**

The second temple (Stratum IV, Middle Bronze II) still had a long room plan but there were no longer antae flanking the entrance. Bonfil has compared this temple to the Long Temple at Hazor because of the thick walls and long room plan (Bonfil 1997: 98). Eisenberg also suggested that the relatively thick walls were in keeping with contemporary temples at Megiddo, Shechem, and Hazor (Eisenberg 1977: 79-80). A pile of ash mixed with animal bones was found on the semi-circular bench in the courtyard of the Stratum IV temple, although no other finds are mentioned (Eisenberg 1977: 79).

The third temple (Stratum III, Late Bronze I) is poorly preserved due to later graves that disturbed the walls. It seems to consist of a cella with two rooms at the back and a courtyard to the east (Eisenberg 1977: 80). It is not known whether this should be classed as a variant of the temple *in antis* due to its unclear plan. The Stratum III temple apparently had the most abundant finds with numerous vessels inside the cella, especially lined up along the southern wall (Eisenberg 1977: 80). These included bowls, juglets, chalices, and goblets in chocolate

on white ware. Some of the bowls also contained jewellery, for example, beads and silver pendants, and a bronze dagger was found as well (Eisenberg 1977: 80). The courtyard floor of this phase was made up of sherds, although whether these were related to the cult Stratum III temple, were reused from earlier temples, or came from somewhere else is unclear (Eisenberg 1977: 80).

### *Mari (Tell Hariri)*

Mari is situated on the Euphrates near the modern Iraq-Syria border. It has been excavated since 1933, first by André Parrot then by Jean-Claude Margueron (since 1979). The city seems to have been founded in the Early Bronze Age from which time palaces, temples and houses have been uncovered that seem to be in a Mesopotamian style. The city was destroyed in the late Early Bronze Age, possibly by Sargon of Akkad in the same campaign that destroyed Ebla. It was rebuilt by the Amorites at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age during which time the large palace and associated temple *in antis* were built. Numerous texts have been found at the site, which indicate that Mari played an important role in long distance trade with the southern Levant and Mesopotamia. The city was destroyed again by the Babylonians in the Middle Bronze Age, after which it was partially resettled but it seems to have ceased being such an important centre (Bienkowski 2000b).

Six temples were excavated at the site, five of them on the upper mound (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 264-5). The Dagan Temple or the Temple aux Lions near the palace is the only temple *in antis* found at Mari, located next to the southeast corner of the palace and built during the Middle Bronze Age reconstruction of the site by the Amorites (Parrot 1939: fig.1). It has the typical long room cella and thick walls with straight antae. At the rear of the cella is a mudbrick platform decorated on the front with pilasters, behind which are two small rooms (Parrot 1938: 23). Adjacent to the northern wall of the temple is what has been termed a ziggurat by the excavators (Parrot 1938; 1939). In front of the temple, there is a courtyard with several rooms around it (Parrot 1939: pl. 1). The excavators found 2 bronze lions in the temple complex, and around 70 eyes like those on the intact lions suggesting that there were originally at least forty lions “protecting” the sanctuary (Parrot 1939: 6). Despite frequent excavation reports initially in the journal *Syria* (e.g. Parrot 1938; 1939) and then in the regular publication *Mari* (Margueron 1982etc.) publication has focused almost entirely on the

architecture and the texts from the site, with no finds from the temples published, with the exception of the two lion statues from the courtyard (Parrot 1939: 6).

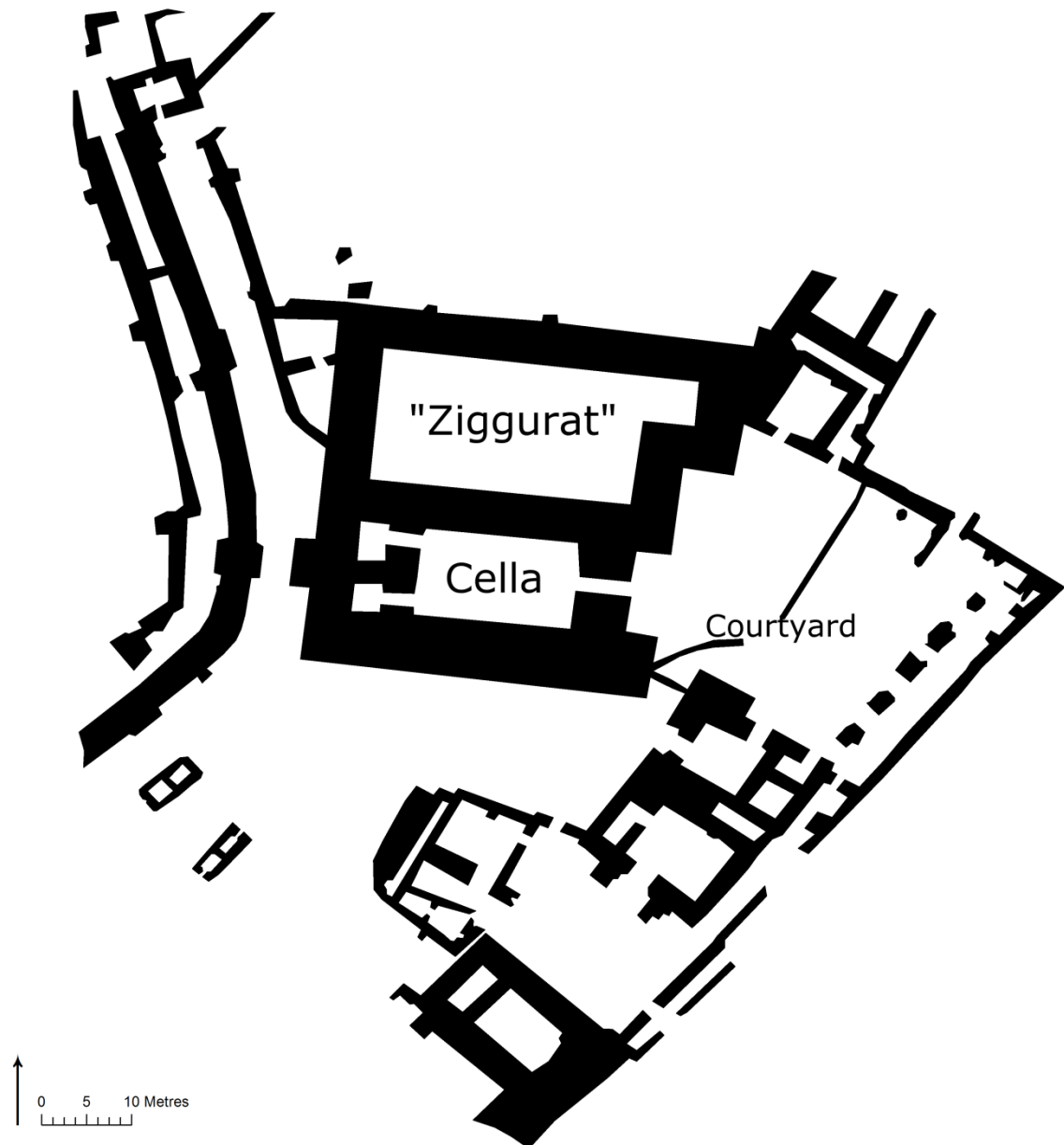


Figure 36- Mari, The Lion Temple

### *Tell Matin*

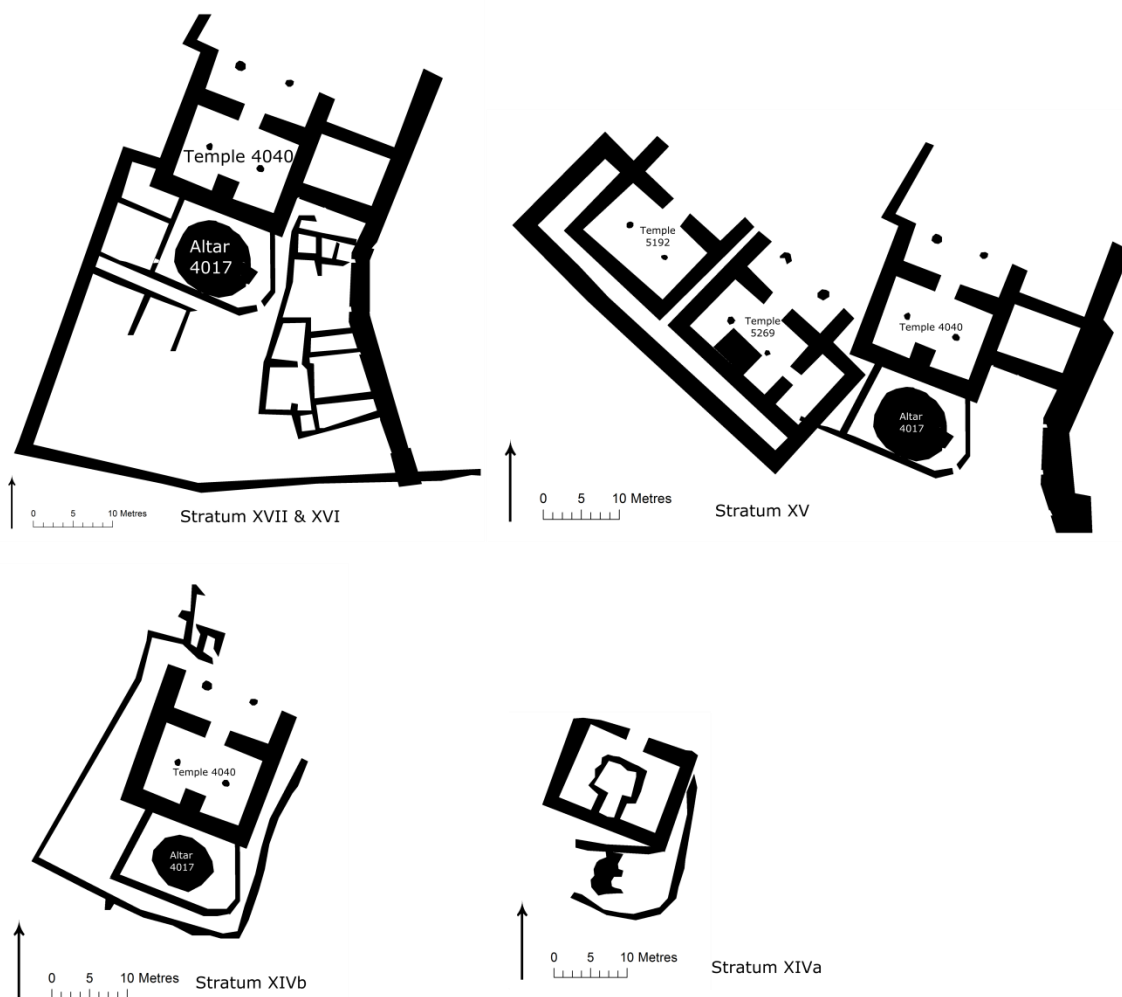
Tell Matin is about 45 km east of Lake Assad (the Euphrates River) and the sites of Qara Quzaq and Tell Kabir. The tell is 70 ha in size and oval in shape (Einwag 1993: 35). Large stone blocks can be seen scattered over the surface of the tell and many walls and floor plans

can still be traced on the surface. The western part of the tell is occupied by a modern village. The collected ceramics represent the Early Bronze Age and Islamic Periods, seemingly with a gap in occupation from the Middle Bronze to the Islamic period (Einwag 1993: 35). The site was unexcavated but the surface survey found traces of an *in antis* building (Einwag 1993: 35). This building is at least 7 m x 4m but the full extent of the long walls is not known. The entrance faces east and seems to have a typical long room plan with two straight antae projecting forward from the sidewalls although the southern anta and doorjamb is damaged by a modern pit (Einwag 1993: 35). The Tell Matin temple is included here in the hope of making this study as complete as possible despite being unable to add to our corpus of finds.

### *Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim)*

Megiddo is a large tell in the Jezreel Valley, Israel, an important route between the coast and the Jordan Valley. It has occupation from the Neolithic through to the Persian period. In the Early Bronze Age, it was a fortified city destroyed at the end of that period and then rebuilt in the Middle Bronze Age again as a fortified city with a large mudbrick city wall and rampart before another destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In the Iron Age, the city was rebuilt again, initially as a small, unfortified city, which became larger in the later Iron Age when a casemate wall and chambered gate were built (Negev 1990: 238-9). Megiddo was excavated initially by a German team led by Schumacher who dug a deep trench from north to south across the tell (1903-5) (Davies 1986: 12-16). It was then excavated by an American team under Fisher, Guy, Lamon, and Loud (1925-39) who excavated in several areas of the tell, attempting initially to peel back entire surfaces in phase, but then focused on specific areas such as the sacred area BB where they dug a massive trench down to bedrock (Davies 1986: 17-22). In the 1960s and 1970s, small scale excavations were conducted by Yigael Yadin, Dunayevsky and Kempinski, and finally Eitan (Davies 1986: 23-4). The current excavations have been conducted by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern since 1992.

Megiddo has a sacred area in use from the Early Bronze Age I period with the first *in antis* building, Temple 4040, built in the Early Bronze III period<sup>2</sup>. This building had a broad room cella with a stone podium against the centre of the rear wall and two pillars. The porch was *in antis* with two pillars aligned horizontally (Loud 1948: 78). Behind the temple, a large circular stone “altar” (4017) was built, separated from the surrounding rooms by a wall (Loud 1948: 70). Herzog has suggested that this is actually the base of a granary, illustrating the temple’s economic importance at the site, because of its secluded location behind the temple, which would not allow mass viewing of the cult practices if it were an altar (Herzog 1997: 81). This is an interesting suggestion, however, there are large numbers of animal bones and sherds around the “altar” suggesting that it was perhaps intended for sacrifices and offerings



**Figure 37- Megiddo, Early Bronze III-Middle Bronze I Sacred Area (Strata XVII-XIVa)**

<sup>2</sup> The dates of the Megiddo strata have been extensively debated. The dates here follow Dunayevsky & Kempinski (1973: 185-186). Continued excavations are attempting to more securely date the earliest temples and the preliminary results seem to agree with Dunayevsky & Kempinski’s article (Megiddo Expedition 2010).

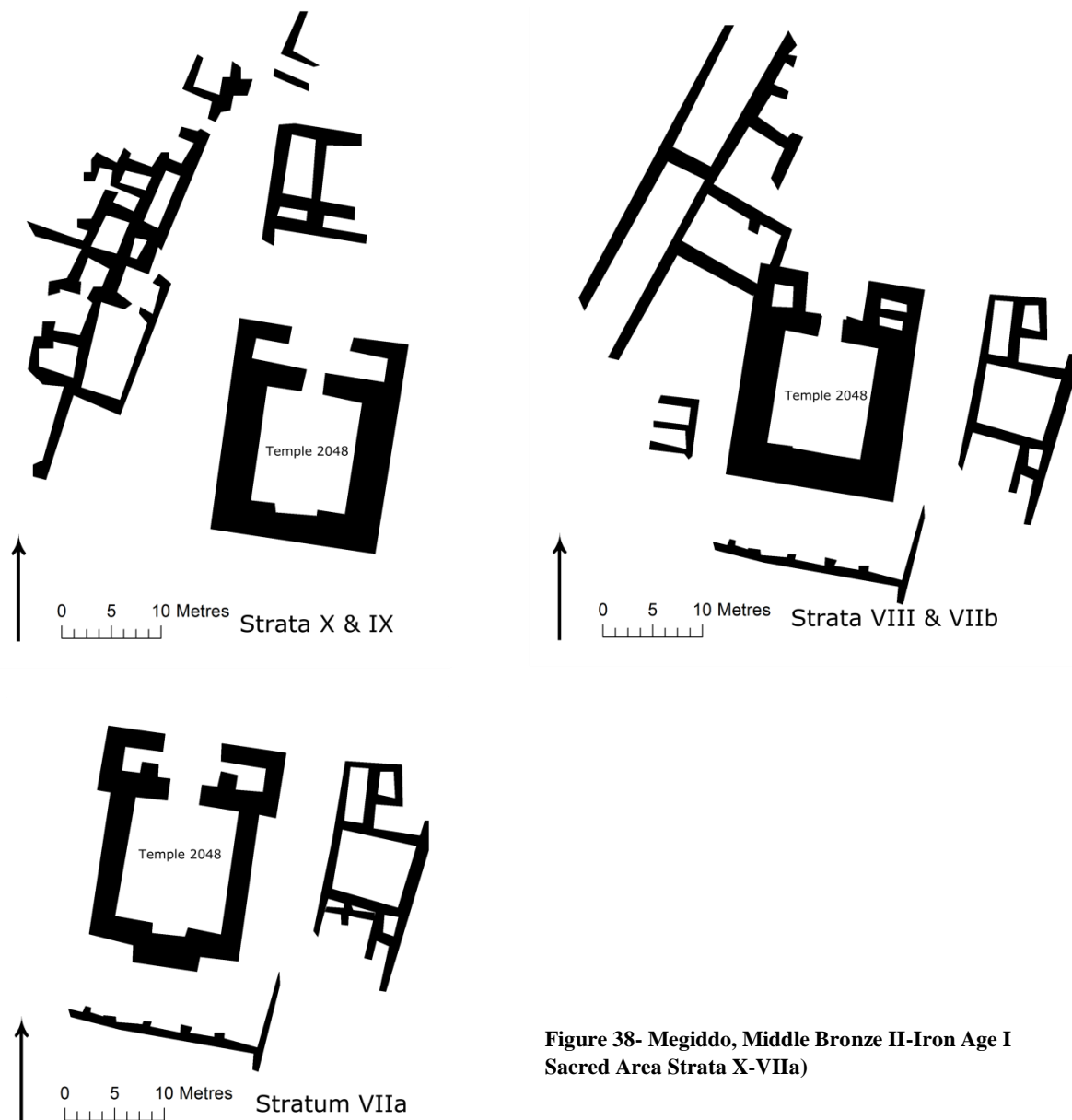
(Loud 1948 74; fig 166). Furthermore, structure 4017 is similar in appearance to the later bamah at Nahariyah, which was certainly intended for offerings.

In the next phase, also Early Bronze III, two further temples (5269 and 5192) were added next to the southwest corner of temple 4040, oriented slightly more to the east than the existing temple. They followed the same plan and were roughly the same size as temple 4040 (Loud 1948: 78). Temple 5192 was only partially excavated by Loud but the renewed excavations suggest that it was unfinished (Megiddo Expedition 2010). Towards the end of the Early Bronze Age, Temples 5269 and 5192 were abandoned and only Temple 4040 and altar 4017 remain (Dunayevsky & Kempinski 1973: 186).

At the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age the antae of Temple 4040 were removed, parts of the old cella were filled leaving a narrow room containing the original podium, and altar 4017 was covered by a “pavement” (Loud 1948: 84). Through the rest of the Middle Bronze Age, the old location of Temple 4040 seems to remain cultic since new houses built around it respect its limits, but the area seems to be an open cult space with stelae and a small structure. Also during this period, a palace is constructed to the west of the cult area (Dunayevsky & Kempinski 1973: 175-178). The three early temples (4040, 5269, & 5192) are often called *megara* to distinguish them from the temples *in antis* because they do not have a long room plan. However, they are as large as many of the temples *in antis* and the porch is undeniably *in antis* and as such, they are included in this study.

In the Middle Bronze II period, a new temple (2048) was built in the same sacred area, this building in keeping with the typical *in antis* plan with a long room cella with a niche in the centre of the rear wall, thick walls, and a shallow porch with L-shaped antae (Dunayevsky & Kempinski 1973: 180-182). Towards the end of the Middle Bronze II, the palace adjacent to the temple is abandoned and houses are built over it. A new palace is constructed near the town gate at the same time (Dunayevsky & Kempinski 1973: 184). In the Late Bronze I, the antae of Temple 2048 are rebuilt as towers but the rest of the building remains the same. At the end of the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age, Temple 2048 is rebuilt along roughly the same plan although the walls are thinner and it is suggested that the towers become chambers either side of the porch instead. Due to the thinner walls, the porch and chambers are slightly wider than the cella (Dunayevsky & Kempinski 1973: fig. 19).





**Figure 38- Megiddo, Middle Bronze II-Iron Age I  
Sacred Area Strata X-VIIa)**

Although the reports for Megiddo were somewhat rushed because of the outbreak of World War II some of the cultic practices in the temple precinct can be reconstructed. Claire Epstein (1965) studied both the final excavation reports (Loud 1948) and the field notes from the excavation. Epstein's research mainly focuses on the Strata X-VII temples (Temple 2048) but she also discusses the somewhat more confusing strata XII and XI, which have proved difficult to reconstruct. Along the south and east walls of temple 2048, were found large deposits that were interpreted as 'rubbish dumps' (Epstein 1965: 208). These consisted of "quantities of sherds mixed with animal bones", and also containing objects interpreted as votive offerings and cult objects that had been tidied up from the cella (Epstein 1965: 208). Epstein also notes a number of these loci scattered around the temple courtyard containing

large numbers of pottery and objects of types “known to be used in cult practice” (Epstein 1965: 210). She notes an especially large number of bowls as well as offering stands, chalices, lamps, bronze and lead figurines, bronze pins, miniature vessels, and dove figurines (Epstein 1965: 210-211). She also notes the distinct absence of large jugs and piriform and cylindrical juglets, which are common in contemporary tombs, and houses (Epstein 1965: 211).

### *Tall Munbāqa (Ekalte)*

Tall Munbāqa today lies on the eastern bank of Lake al-Assad. The site has been excavated since 1969, initially by Ernst Heinrich, Winfried Orthmann, and Alfred Maurer respectively, and by Dittmar Machule since 1978. The site was settled first in the Early Bronze Age but destroyed and resettled in the Middle Bronze Age, and again in the Late Bronze Age when it became a small (14 ha), planned city surrounded by ramparts, and also encompassing a lower town. It seems that Tell Bi’a had trading links along the Euphrates, but except for the temples, there have been no other public buildings excavated on the site. The city was

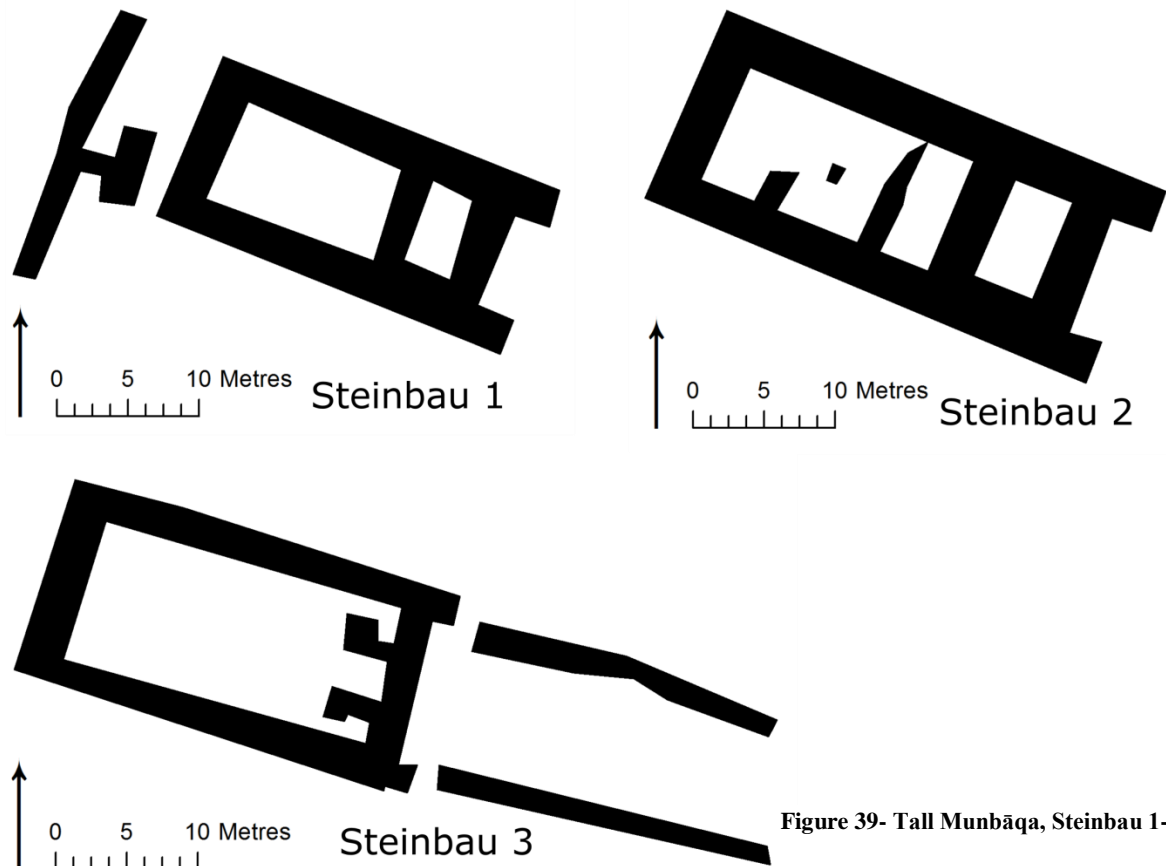


Figure 39- Tall Munbāqa, Steinbau 1-3

destroyed, possibly by the Late Bronze Age campaigns of Tuthmosis III (Machule 2010).

There were three temples *in antis* excavated at the site, all dating to the Late Bronze Age, and all very badly preserved. Geophysical survey has shown a fourth probable temple *in antis* near the North Gate. All these buildings are on the highest point of the site, the three excavated buildings in a line on the northwest (riverbank) side of the tell, about 40 m apart from each other. Steinbau I and II are the better preserved of the buildings. Steinbau I and II share roughly the same plan, both having a long room cella, broad antechamber, and shallow *in antis* porch, although Steinbau II (the southernmost building) is slightly longer than Steinbau I (Werner *et al* 1998: Abb. 50). Steinbau III, the northernmost building, is not as well preserved but seems to follow an *in antis* plan with a long room cella and chambers or towers rather than straight antae though the plan is far from clear. According to the excavators, none of the temples has a temenos wall but they do have forecourts (Werner *et al* 1998: 55-57). Although there have been publications of the finds from Tall Munbāqa (Czichon & Werner 1998; 2008), the temples themselves produced no finds as only the foundations were preserved, the superstructure was completely destroyed (Werner *et al* 1998: 119).

### *Pella*

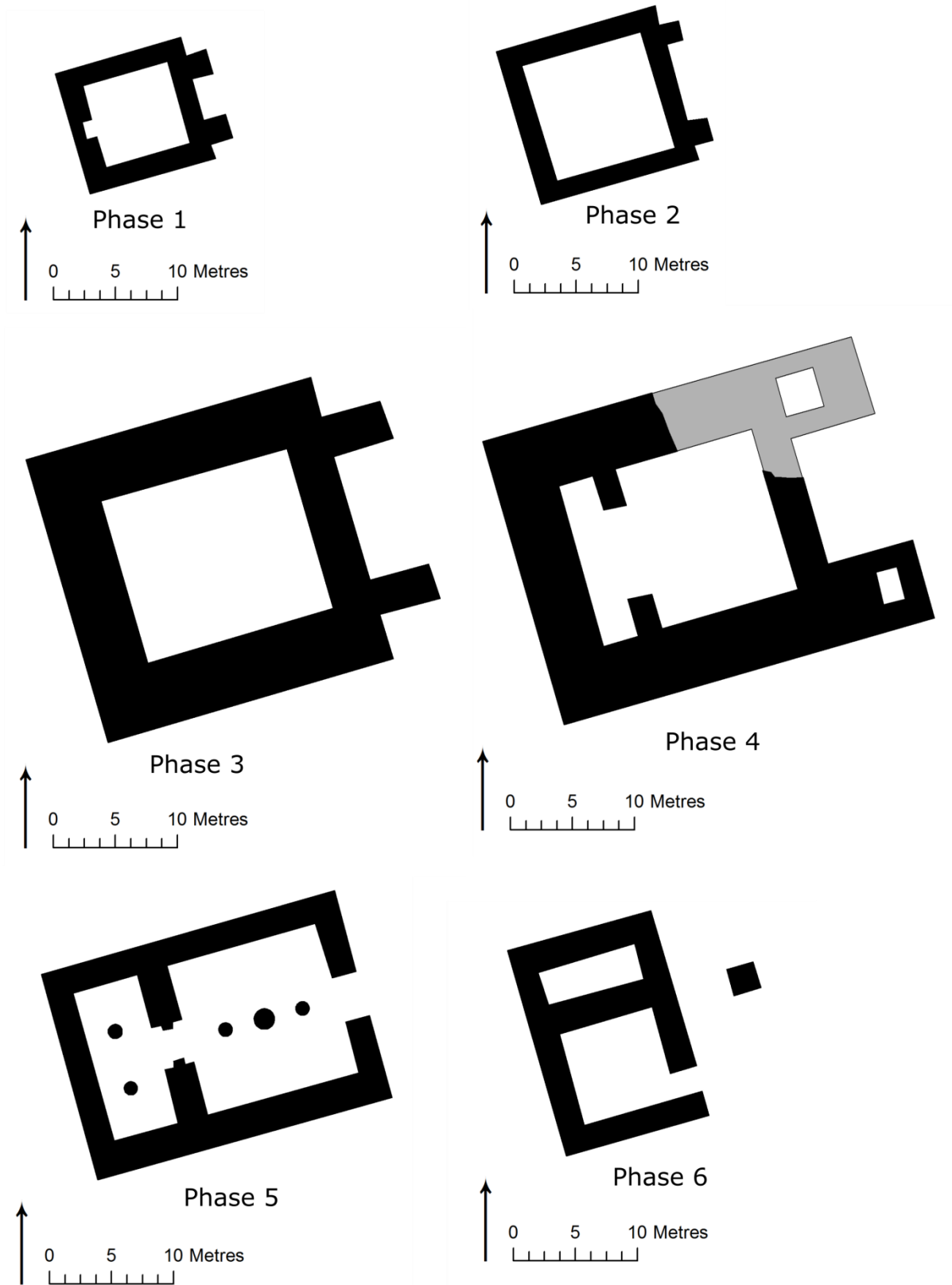
The main mound of Pella is an 8 ha site situated in the north Jordan Valley and located at a crossroads of two trade routes, one running north south along the Jordan Valley and the other running east west along the Jezreel Valley towards Megiddo and the coast (Bourke 2012a). A natural hill, Tell Husn, associated with the main mound adds about 1 ha to the size of the site. Excavations have been conducted at the site since 1979, jointly by Sydney and Wooster Universities until 1985, then since 1985 by Sydney University alone. The excavations have uncovered archaeological evidence from the Palaeolithic to the Ottoman periods and since 1997, excavation has concentrated on the temple area (Bourke 2012a).

There are six consecutive temples at Pella dating between 1900 and 800 BC. The first phase is a small mudbrick building with an almost square cella, antae inset from the sidewalls and a niche in the centre of the rear wall, dating to the Middle Bronze I. The Phase 1 temple contained fragments of gold foil, inlays (Faience, ivory and wood), and ivory figurine fragments (Bourke 2012b: table 1). The second phase is a slightly larger structure, still of

mudbrick and with inset antae. The second phase contained an alabaster vase and a kernos (Bourke 2012b: table 1). Both these phases were damaged by the construction of the later temples. These first two phases are comparable to the first phases of the Tell el-Hayyat temple. The third phase (Middle Bronze II) is a large stone building with straight inset antae in which two basalt statue fragments depicting a life sized head and small scale feet (Bourke 2012b: 164). In this phase, a small mudbrick outbuilding was found which contained a series of bins containing miniature ceramic vessels (bottles and funnels), two gypsum bowls (one decorated with figurines of rams' heads), a faience lid, a calcite flask, a diorite jar (Egyptian), and other ceramic vessels (juglets and bowls) (Bourke 2012b: 164).

In the next phase (Phase 4) a wall is added creating a shallow room at the back of the cella, the holy-of-holies, and the antae are rebuilt as towers. This temple contained a faience rhyton, ceramic cult stands, alabaster vessels, and a glazed miniature altar (Bourke 2012b: table1).

In the fifth phase, the Egyptianising Temple (Late Bronze IIb), the building is narrowed, the antae are removed, and pillars are added along the central axis of the cella, as well as two pillars in the holy-of-holies. Bourke believes that this building shows Egyptian influence due to the foundation deposits and the presence of the pillared hall in the temple (Bourke 2012b: 173-4). The foundation deposits contained cylinder seals, a glass ingot, glass plaques, faience plaques, gold foil, beads (agate, lapis lazuli, faience, and glass), a miniature bronze harpoon, a bronze statue arm, a copper snake figurine, and a strip of bronze with moulded animal heads (Bourke 2012b: 175). Several pits were found inside the antechamber of this temple containing broken pottery (bowls, kraters, chalices, and rhyta) (Bourke 2012b: 176-8) ) as well as animal bones, mostly sheep/goat but occasionally cow, deer and bird, and cereals, pulses, and fruit seeds (Bourke 2012b: 179-180). A copper "Reshef" figurine, part of a granite scribe statue (Egyptian), and a glass scarab were each buried in their own pit just inside the entrance of the temple (Bourke 2012b: 178). ). Inside the antechamber were a number of bronze objects found amongst the destruction debris. These included two small cymbals, four small balance pans, and a weight, as well as a fragment of a faience incense bucket (Bourke 2012b: 180).



**Figure 40- The Pella Temples, Phases 1-6**

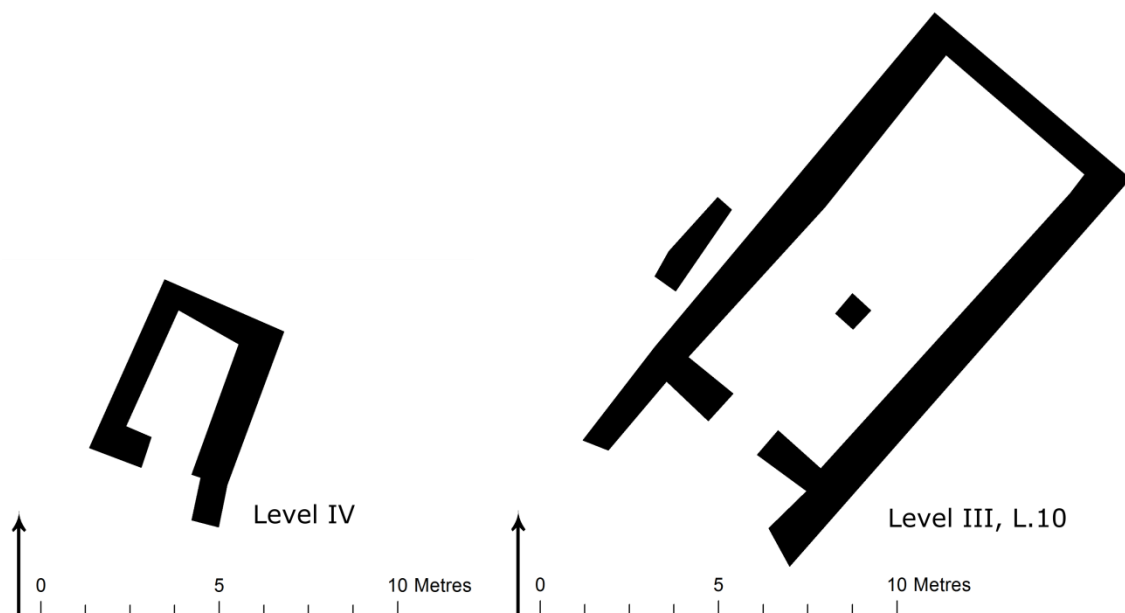
The final building in the series has a bent axis and a broad plan with a series of pits in the courtyard dating to the Iron II period (Bourke 2012b: 184). These pits in the courtyard of the Phase 6 temple contained fragments of cooking pots, jugs, bowls, platters, kernoi, chalices, cult stands, incense cups, store jars, a basin, and a model shrine with applied bulls heads (Bourke 2012b: 190). They also contained fragments of stone bowls, braziers, scoops and some figurine fragments including a female seated figure and a male figurine (Bourke 2012b: 190).

### *Qara Quzaq*

Qara Quzaq is located on the Euphrates near to the Turkey-Syria border. Today it exists as an island after the flooding of Lake al-Assad. The tell is 1.6 ha in size and was excavated initially as part of the wave of salvage excavations that occurred in response to the construction of the Euphrates dams (Cooper 2006: Table 3.1). The site was a small settlement with a sacred area in a prominent position in the centre of the tell (Cooper 2006: 158) and a tomb near this sacred area containing tin bronze (Cooper 2006: 167; 224). In the Middle Bronze Age, a number of silos were dug across the site, causing damage to the temples, particularly the Level III temple, which is badly preserved because of these pits (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 119).

Qara Quzaq has three buildings identified as temples. The earliest is not a temple *in antis*, it is a square building with a bent axis, built on a raised platform at the centre of the site dating to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium (Early Bronze I) (Cooper 2006: 147). The first temple *in antis* at the site was built over the earlier square temple in the middle of the third Millennium (Early Bronze III). It has a long room cella and *in antis* porch with stone foundations and a mudbrick superstructure (Cooper 2006: 158). The temple *in antis* in the next level (Level III, building L.10) is much larger than the first structure and is situated on the southern side of the tell away from the earlier sacred area (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 119). It has been badly damaged by later silos but the temple has a long roomed cella with an *in antis* porch built from stone with a mudbrick superstructure like the earlier temple, dating to the latter part of the Early Bronze III period (Cooper 2006: 159). The walls are about 1 m thick and the floor of the cella was made from mudbricks. The floor and walls of the interior of the temple were plastered and benches were constructed around the interior walls (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 119).

Although a number of excavation reports exist for Qara Quzaq (Del Olmo Lete 1994 etc.), the temple only appears in the preliminary report and finds are not discussed in any detail. It is however noted that a single ceramic figurine is found in the Level IV temple, which was otherwise devoid of finds (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 118). A buried jar was found inside the porch, next to the western anta of the Level III temple and contained 333 items, mostly beads (made from frit, shell, bone, ceramic, alabaster, and limestone), and also zoomorphic amulets/pendants, cylinder seals, a shell bull plaque, and two small alabaster vessels (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 121; fig. 4). This jar is believed to be a foundation deposit (Valdés-Pereiro 1999: 121).



**Figure 41- Qara Quzaq, Level IV and Level III**

### *Shechem (Tell Balatah)*

Shechem was first excavated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by Ernst Sellin and later by G. Ernest Wright amongst others. It is situated in Israel on the route from Jerusalem to the north and is known textually from Egypt and the Bible. The earliest excavations uncovered a stretch of city wall, a six-chambered gate, and a nearby palace and temple dating to the Middle Bronze Age (Sellin 1926). The later excavations in the 1960s uncovered occupation at the site from the Chalcolithic period onwards, but it was only in the late Middle Bronze Age that a permanent city was established. The city was destroyed at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and rebuilt on a smaller scale in the Late Bronze Age surviving until the Iron II period when

it was destroyed again, remaining abandoned until the conquest of Alexander the Great, who used it as a camp (Negev 1990: 343).

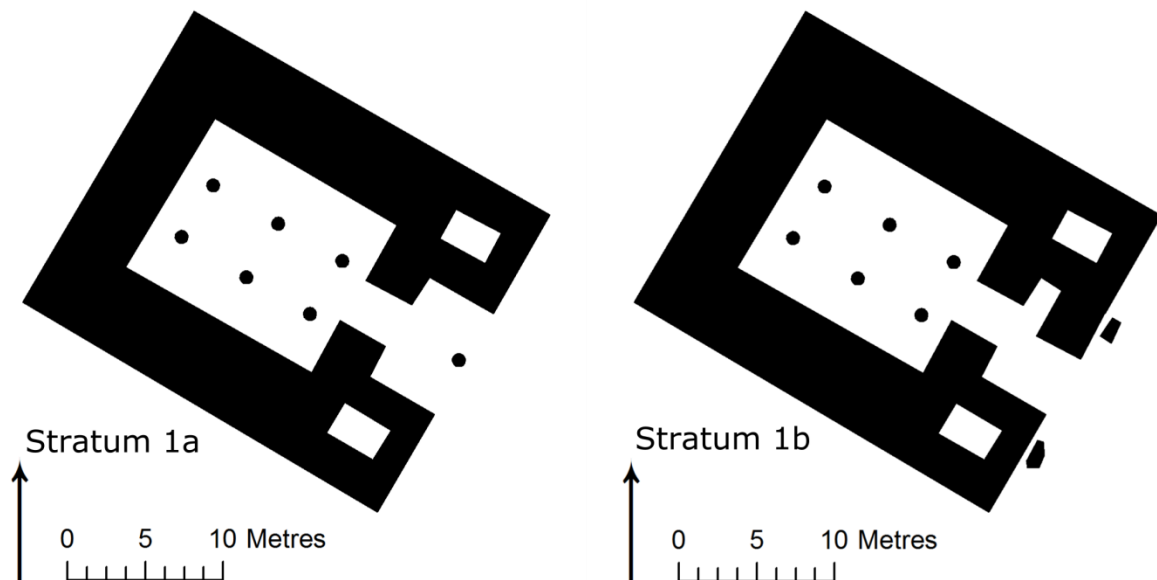


Figure 42- Shechem Temple, Stratum 1a & 1b

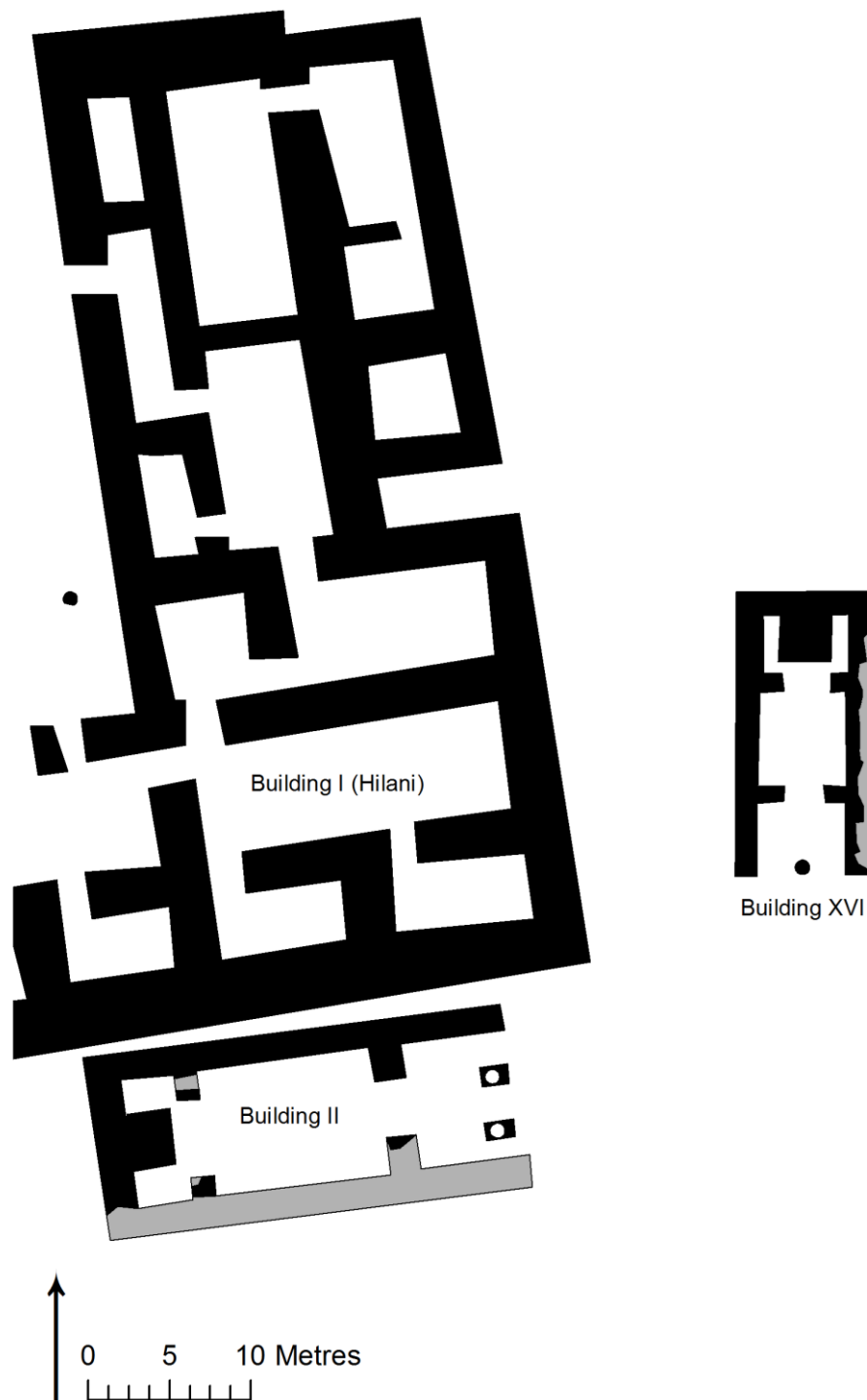
There is a large temple *in antis* excavated at the site in two phases, first uncovered by Sellin (1926: 309ff). It has a long room cella with six pillars arranged in two parallel rows of three along the length of the room. There are two towers flanking the entrance rather than straight antae (Sellin 1926: 310). The second phase of the temple followed the same plan except for the partial walling of the north side of the front of the porch creating a smaller, indirect entrance (Wright 1965: 93). Both phases of the temple seem to date to the latter half of the Middle Bronze Age (Wright 1965: 87-97). Although the temple architecture at Shechem has been discussed extensively the finds were never published.

### *Tell Ta'yinat*

Tell Ta'yinat is a 35 ha site in Turkey near the modern border with Syria, less than a kilometre away from Alalakh. The site is comprised of a citadel and a lower town that is now mostly buried by the alluvial floodplain of the Orontes River. Between 1935 and 1938 the University of Chicago excavated the site, discovering the phases of the city dating to the Iron II-III period including Building I, a Beit Hilani style palace (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 127). Renewed excavations at the site since 1999 by the University of Toronto focused initially on



surface surveys of the site but since 2005 full scale excavations have taken place annually uncovering more of the Iron Age settlement.



**Figure 43- Tell Ta'yinat, corner of the Hilani (Building I) with associated Temple Building II (Bottom) and Temple Building XVI (Right)**

Two temples *in antis* have been found at the site, both in close proximity to the Hilani style palace, Building I. One is next to the southern wall of this building (Building II) and was excavated in the 1930s (McEwan 1937: 9). The other (Building XVI) was excavated in 2008-2009, next to the eastern wall of the Hilani palace (Harrison 2009: 184). Both temples date to the Iron II Period and follow roughly the same plan though Building XVI is slightly smaller. Both have a long room plan with an *in antis* porch, long cella, and shallow room at the rear of the temple interpreted as the holy of holies (Harrison 2009: 185). In Building XVI there is a mudbrick podium filling the small room at the rear of the temple (Harrison 2009: 185) on which was found a number of literary and historical cuneiform tablets which had been pierced apparently so that they could be hung and displayed in the holy of holies (Harrison 2012: 16). Building XVI had been destroyed in a burning event that had largely preserved many of the finds.

Ta'yinat has only been published in regular, yet preliminary reports, no final presentation of the finds from the temple are published but the preliminary articles do mention some finds. The cella of Building XVI was largely clear of ceramics and faunal remains, however there were a number of fragments of riveted bronze and carved ivory inlays, believed to be part of a door or wall coverings, some pieces of gold leaf, an iron fibula, and 2 faience beads (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 130; 136). On the podium in the Holy of Holies there were a number of objects including various gold, bronze and iron tools, libation vessels, a large jar, a glazed Assyrian basin, an iron shield (?), an engraved black stone cylindrical paxis, several bronze nails and various other ornate objects, as well as the cuneiform tablets mentioned above (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 131; 136-137). There were also several lamps, a pot stand, a jug, a large storage jar and a juglet in this assemblage (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 135). A single krater was also found in the porch (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 135). The cuneiform tablets represent at least 11 texts, the majority of which are literary and historical documents. One text is a record of an oath by the governor of Ta'yinat to Esarhaddon, King of Assyria. There were two amulet shaped tablets, of a type generally thought to have a votive function. As mentioned above, a number of the tablets were pierced, suggesting that they had been hung up and displayed in the holy of holies (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 137).

### *Ugarit (Ras Shamra)*

Ugarit, modern Ras Shamra is located on the coast of modern day Syria. The site has occupation levels from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age as well as minor settlement during the Persian and Roman periods. The site was abandoned during the Early Bronze Age and resettled during the Middle Bronze Age during which it was in contact with Mari and Egypt, probably being involved in the trade along the Mediterranean coast and inland down the Euphrates. During this period, the city begins its first urban development, with a palace, and associated “Hurrian” Temple (Yon 2006:16; 46-49). The city declined towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age, but saw a rapid growth in the Late Bronze Age when it was in close contact with Egypt (as evidenced by the Amarna Letters), before its destruction at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Yon 2006). During this period a large palace existed on the western half of the tell and an acropolis in the north eastern part of the tell was home to two large temples, which seem to be variations on the temple *in antis* plan (Yon 2006:106). The site was excavated between 1929 and 1970 by Schaeffer, then by Contenson, Margueron, Yon, Calvet, and Jamous until 2000. The city is famous for its cuneiform tablets, which include an extensive corpus of religious texts (see for example Pardee 2002).

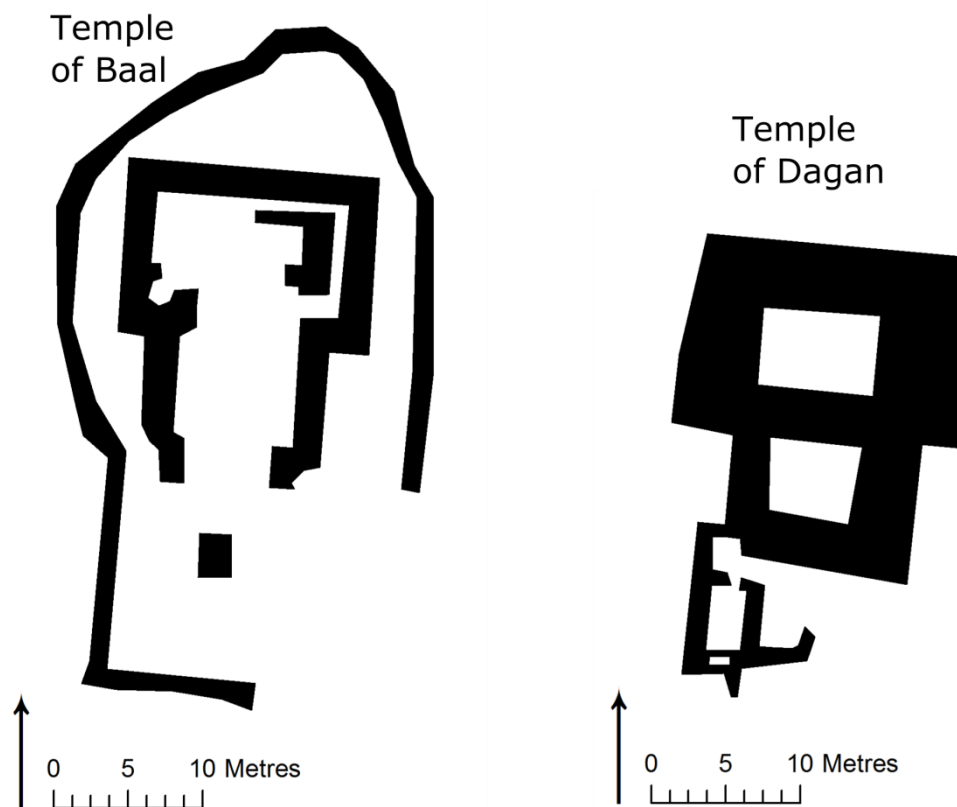


Figure 44- Ugarit, Temple of Baal & Temple of Dagan

The two *in antis* temples on the Late Bronze Age acropolis follow roughly the same plan with a broad roomed cella and inset antae creating a deep porch. The westernmost temple, the Temple of Baal is the better preserved of the two buildings. This temple has a large square, stone altar in front of the temple entrance (Yon 2006: 106-108). A stairway partially preserved along the eastern wall seems to indicate the presence of another storey. (Yon 2006: 109). The easternmost temple, the Temple of Dagan is poorly preserved, though there is evidence that an earlier version of it may have existed in the Middle Bronze Age. This temple also had a courtyard in front of it, containing a platform of stone blocks with sockets in them, probably to stand stelae in (Yon 2006: 114).

### *Khirbet ez-Zeraqon*

Khirbet ez-Zeraqon is a 12 ha site in northern Jordan, situated on a plateau south of the Yarmouk River, and inhabited in the Early Bronze Age but abandoned after that period (Leiverkus *et al*). It was excavated in a joint expedition by Tübingen and Yarmouk Universities in eight seasons between 1984 and 1993, then a geophysical survey was conducted in 2003 and 2004 (Leiverkus *et al*). There is a lower town, containing houses and a citadel on which was found the palace and temples. A thick city wall (up to 7 m wide) surrounded the site, and a water system consisting of three stepped shafts was built (Herzog 1997: 92).

The sacred area is located next to the city wall on the citadel in the west of the site, with three similarly sized broad roomed structures (B0.1, B0.4, B0.5) arranged in a semicircle around and open court, dating to the Early Bronze III (Genz 2002: 10). Two of these buildings have L-shaped antae and all three have two pillars in the cella. On the eastern side of this court is a circular structure, like altar 4017 at Megiddo, with another attached broad room building (B0.2) (Genz 2002: Abb.2). There are traces of lime plaster on the altar and four steps set into it, as well as ashes suggesting burning activities on the structure (Genz 2002: 94-6). Herzog has suggested that like Megiddo 4017, the Khirbet ez-Zeraqon altar structure is also the base of a granary because of its secluded position (Herzog 1997: 94). However, as noted above, the Megiddo altar does seem to have been used for sacrifices so the same could equally be true here. Although a lack of finds makes it difficult to determine the structure's function, the excavators believed that it was used for burnt sacrifices and offerings (Genz 2002: 96).

Although the structures are broad roomed, they do have antae and the similarities to the sacred area at contemporary Megiddo seem to warrant their inclusion in this study, since in the author's opinion the Khirbet ez-Zeraqon buildings are of the same general type, although admittedly without the finds it is difficult to say for certain. The cultic area at Khirbet ez-Zeraqon was virtually devoid of finds (Genz 2002: 95). Those finds that were excavated are as follows: in building B0.2, adjacent to the altar, there was a bowl and a jar, in building B0.5, the southernmost building, there was a large jar and a jug in the cella and a jug in the porch, and in the courtyard there was a single bowl (Genz 2002: 95; Tab. 59).

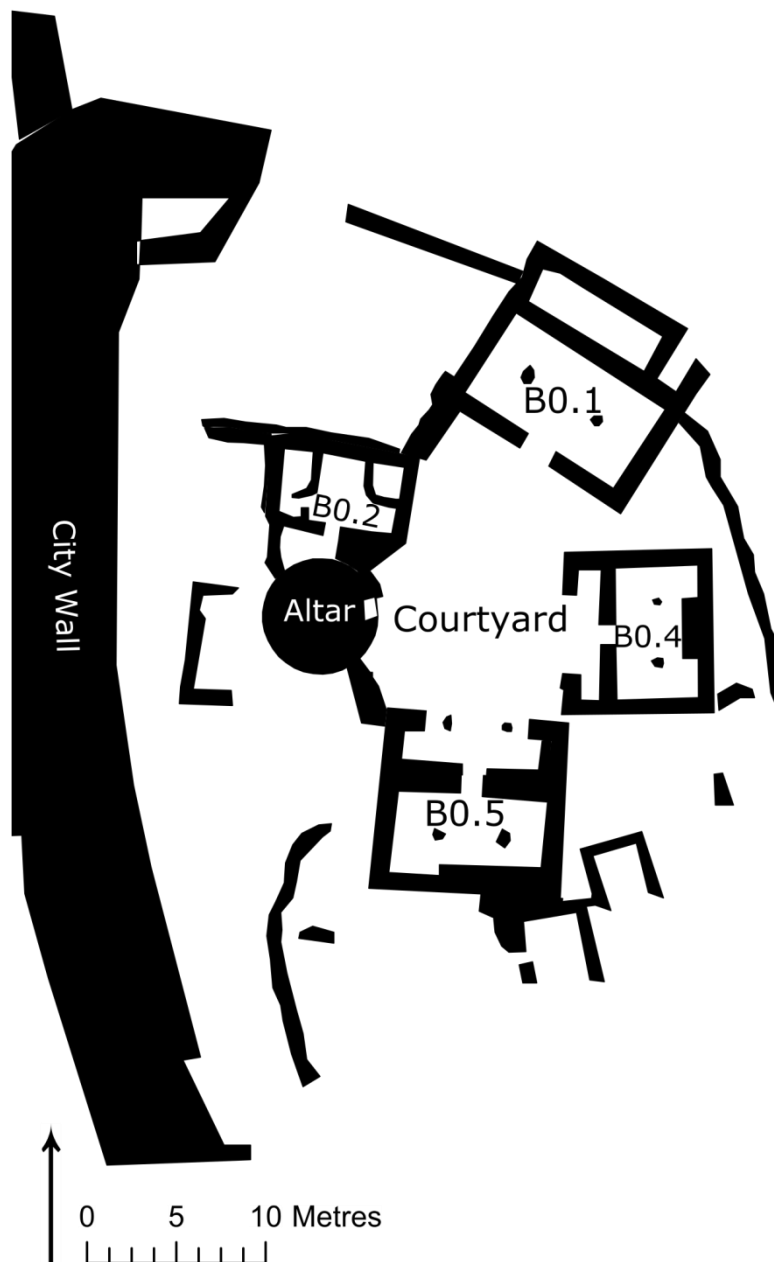


Figure 45- Khirbet ez-Zeraqon Sacred Area

## **Summary**

This gazetteer has presented the architecture and finds of all known temples in antis from the Levant to the best of the author's knowledge. What may become immediately apparent, as alluded to in the previous chapter, is that there is much variety in the plan of temples in antis, even at the same site and from contemporary periods. The significance of these variations in architecture is not clear at present. It is possible that there is religious significance to some of the variations but at the same time this is impossible to prove, and it may be just as likely that the variations arose from purely pragmatic considerations such as the available space for example.

## CHAPTER 5

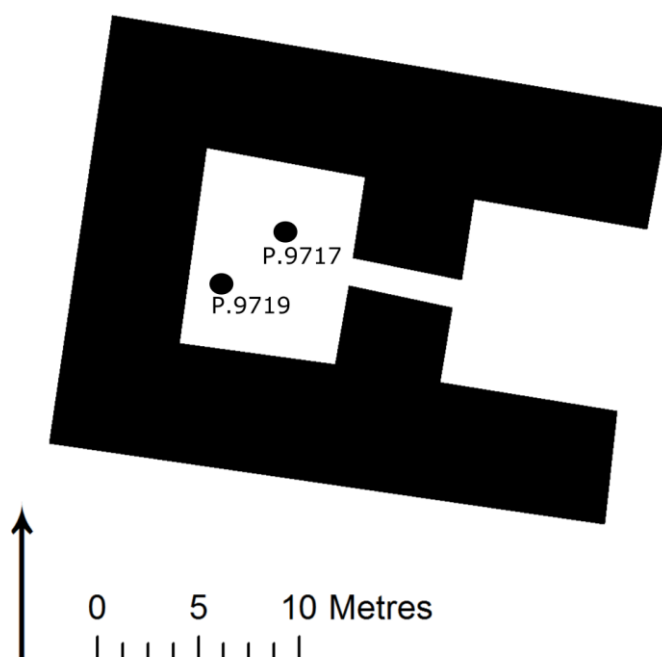
### CASE STUDIES

The following is a detailed look at fourteen temples from four sites: Ebla, Tel Haror, Tell el-Hayyat, and Hazor. These case studies were chosen simply because the available data on the finds and their contexts is detailed enough to allow a discussion. It is hoped that the information gleaned from these temples will provide a base line from which the other temples in antis can be compared, and that they will at least allow these other temples to be viewed in their wider context.

#### Ebla

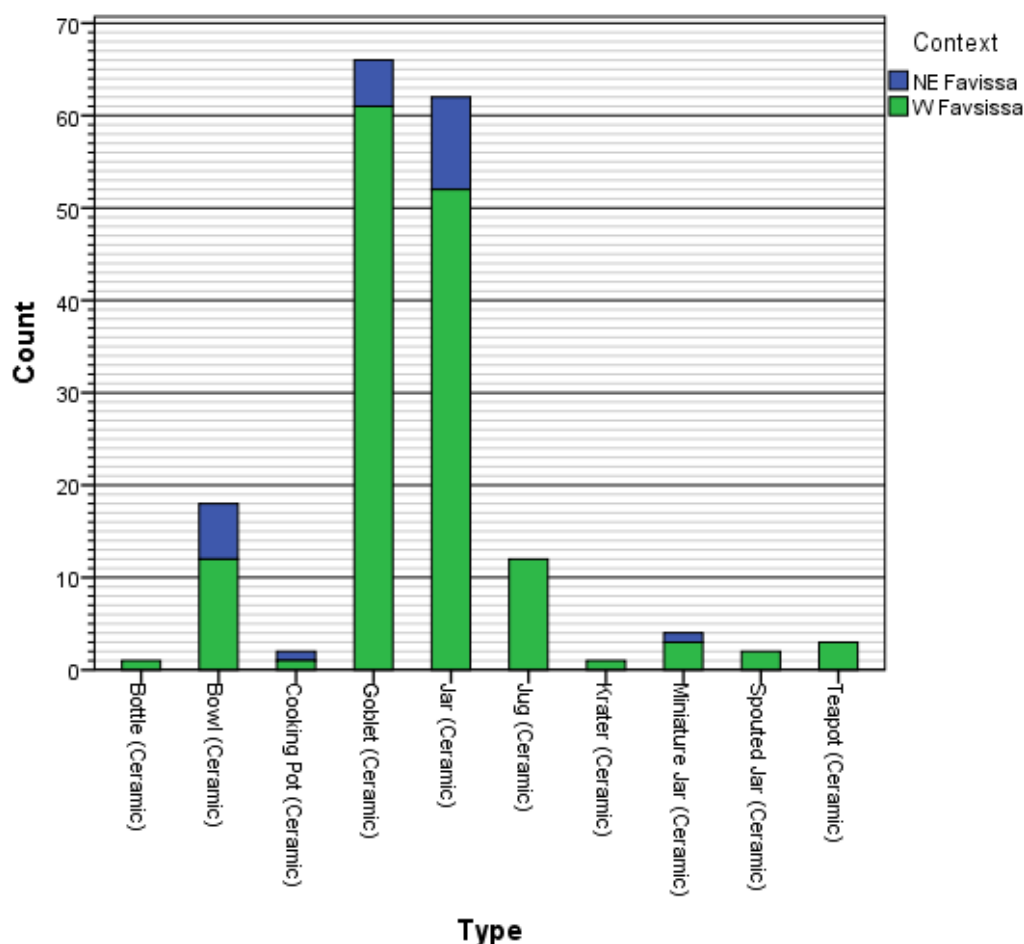
##### *Temple HH1*

The published finds from the Temple of the Rock at Ebla (HH1) are limited to the finds from two favissae inside the cella of the temple. It is suggested that these were filled in a single event at the end of the life of the temple when the temple area was cleared and sealed with a layer of mudbrick before the building of subsequent temples on the site (Sala 2012: 57). Sala notes however, that several layers of fill are distinguishable, with clean fill layers in between



**Figure 46- Ebla HH1, The Temple of the Rock showing the location of favissae P.9717 (North East) and P.9719 (West), within the cella**

the archaeological material (Sala 2012: 58), suggesting that the process of filling may have gone on for some amount of time as is seen in the Area P favissae at Ebla (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 7-9). Sala however, states that the favissae represent a single act so perhaps the separating “clean” fills denote stages of the ritual that is represented, rather than use over a prolonged period of time. Most of the finds originate from the larger western favissa, the most common find being without doubt the goblets and jars (66 and 62 examples respectively), which account for 75% of the published assemblage from the two favissae. The number of bowls is considerably lower than is seen at other sites; only 11% (18 examples) and similarly cooking pots are poorly represented, with only 2 examples present. Jugs are also found, though again in small quantities (12 examples, 7% of the assemblage). Kraters, spouted jugs/teapots, and bottles are very much a minority making up only 4% of the assemblage together. Miniature vessels, of which there are only 4 examples, are similarly in a minority.



Graph 1- The Finds from Ebla HH1



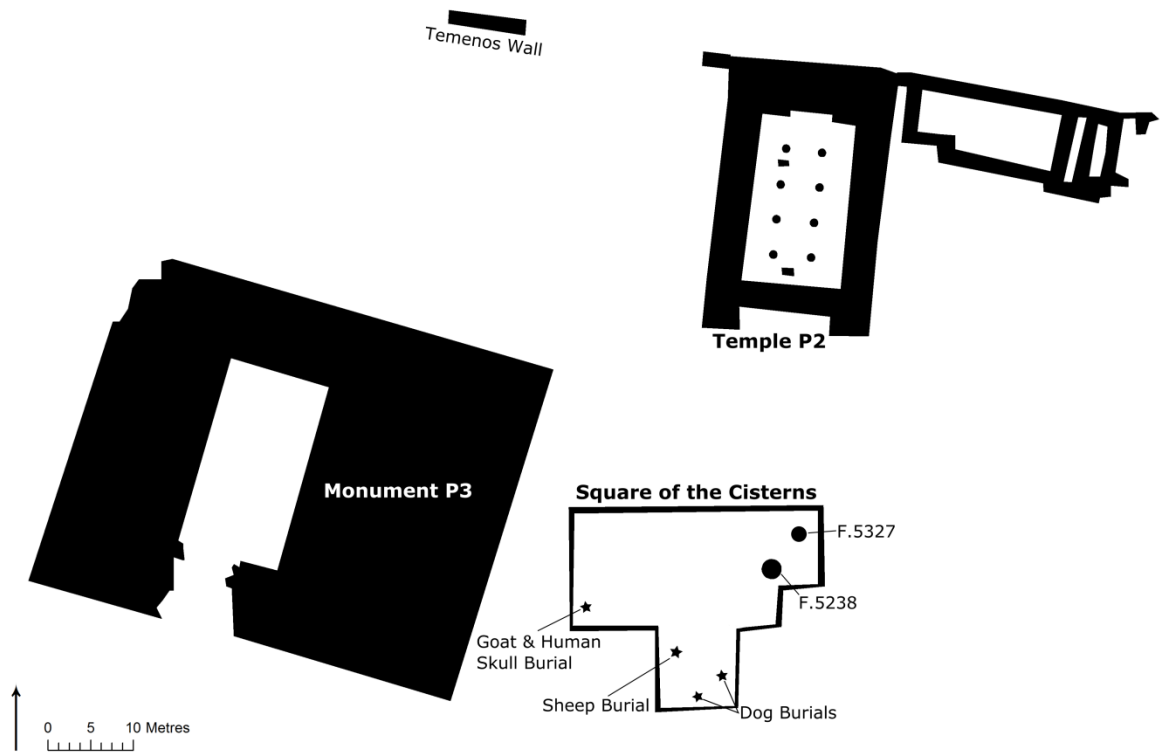
**Table 2- The Finds from Ebla HH1**

|       |                         | Context    |       |           |       | Total |        |
|-------|-------------------------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|--------|
|       |                         | NE Favissa |       | W Favissa |       |       |        |
|       |                         | No.        | %     | No.       | %     | No.   | %      |
| Type  | Bottle (Ceramic)        | 0          | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Bowl (Ceramic)          | 6          | 3.5%  | 12        | 7.0%  | 18    | 10.5%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)   | 1          | .6%   | 1         | .6%   | 2     | 1.2%   |
|       | Goblet (Ceramic)        | 5          | 2.9%  | 61        | 35.7% | 66    | 38.6%  |
|       | Jar (Ceramic)           | 10         | 5.8%  | 52        | 30.4% | 62    | 36.3%  |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)           | 0          | 0.0%  | 12        | 7.0%  | 12    | 7.0%   |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)        | 0          | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Miniature Jar (Ceramic) | 1          | .6%   | 3         | 1.8%  | 4     | 2.3%   |
|       | Spouted Jar (Ceramic)   | 0          | 0.0%  | 2         | 1.2%  | 2     | 1.2%   |
|       | Teapot (Ceramic)        | 0          | 0.0%  | 3         | 1.8%  | 3     | 1.8%   |
| Total |                         | 23         | 13.5% | 148       | 86.5% | 171   | 100.0% |

#### *Area P*

Like the Temple of the Rock (HH1) at Ebla, only the finds from the favissae in the Area P temple have been published, although it is unclear from the reports whether this is because the rest of the temple was relatively clean, or, because the excavators simply chose to publish the favissae separately. It is possible that the finds from elsewhere were considered mundane or too fragmentary to warrant publication as it seems unlikely that no sherds whatsoever were found. Marchetti and Nigro do mention that some of the pits with the animal burials found in the square near the favissa contained bowls and other sherds but no more detail is given (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 29). The most common find type from the Area P favissae is by far the bowls of which there are 340 examples, which is 51% of the published assemblage. The majority of the bowls in the favissae seem to have contained food offerings, some of which were probably burnt as the dove and goat bones are found mixed with ashes (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 7). Jars are also common but by no means as frequent as the bowls with just 50 examples published, although more are mentioned as being present but in unknown numbers. Several fragments of ceramic basins and plates were also found. Most of the smaller jars were sealed with ceramic stoppers and it is suggested that these contained animal fats (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 7). Incense burners are also present, 10 are published, and it is noted that an unspecified number are also present but unpublished. Miniature bowls and jars were also found in the favissae but again the number is not published. Many of the miniature

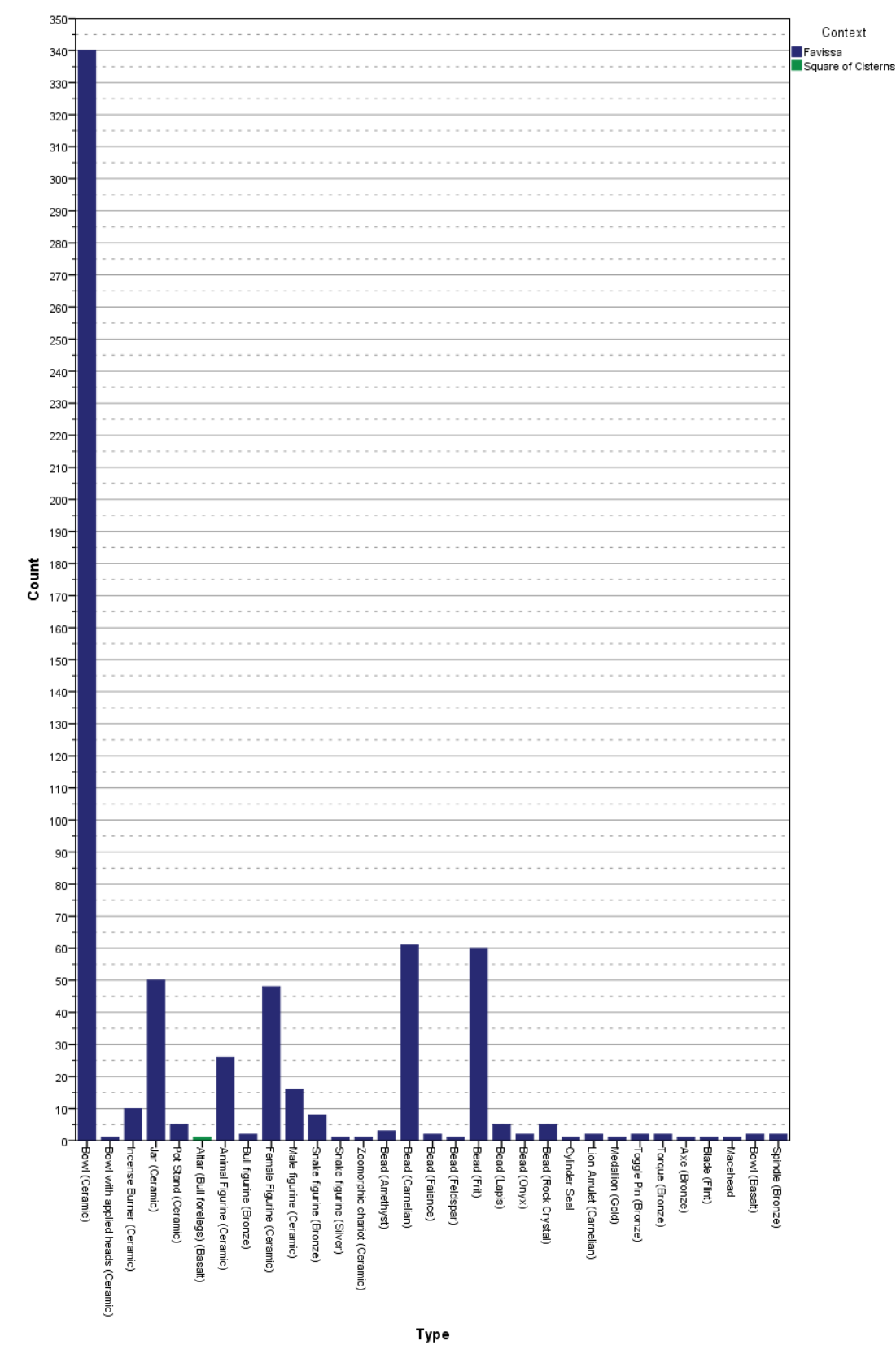
jars had applied figurines of single and double headed birds, one example depicting a lion headed eagle identified as Anzu.



**Figure 47- Ebla Area P Sacred Precinct**

A number of “personal accessories” were also found in the favissae. These mainly consist of beads, mostly of frit (60 examples) and carnelian (61 examples), but some also made from amethyst (3 examples), faience (2 examples), feldspar (1 example), lapis lazuli (5 examples), onyx (2 examples), and rock crystal (5 examples). A cylinder seal was also found as were two lion shaped amulets made from carnelian. Two toggle pins, two torques and an unspecified number of rings were also found, all made from bronze, as well as a gold medallion or pendant. Figurines were relatively common as well, the majority being female figurines (48 examples), with 16 male figurines and 25 zoomorphic figurines. A number of metal snake figurines were also found, 8 in bronze and one in silver as well as a bronze figurine of a bull. A number of model carts were also found including one with a bull’s head on the front. Other finds include a bronze axe, flint blades of an unspecified number, a mace head, 2 bronze spindles, and stone spindle whorls and loom weights in unknown numbers. Numerous

fragments of inlays made of frit, lapis lazuli, carnelian and bone, as well as a number of gold nails and gold foil are suggested to be the remains of boxes and furniture.



Graph 2-The Finds from Ebla P

**Table 3- The Finds from Ebla P**

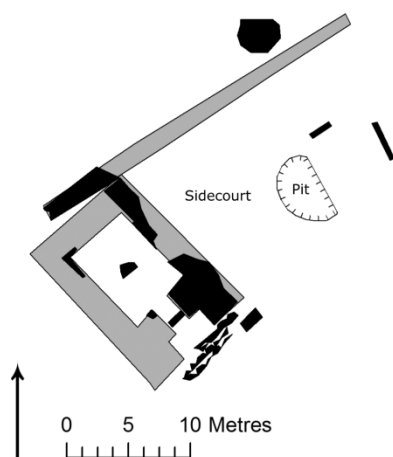
|      |                                   | Context |       |                    |      | Total |       |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------|-------|--------------------|------|-------|-------|
|      |                                   | Favissa |       | Square of Cisterns |      |       |       |
|      |                                   | No.     | %     | No.                | %    | No.   | %     |
| Type | Bowl (Ceramic)                    | 340     | 51.3% | 0                  | 0.0% | 340   | 51.3% |
|      | Incense Burner (Ceramic)          | 10      | 1.5%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 10    | 1.5%  |
|      | Jar (Ceramic)                     | 50      | 7.5%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 50    | 7.5%  |
|      | Pot Stand (Ceramic)               | 5       | .8%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 5     | .8%   |
|      | Altar (Bull forelegs) (Basalt)    | 0       | 0.0%  | 1                  | .2%  | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Animal Figurine (Ceramic)         | 26      | 3.9%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 26    | 3.9%  |
|      | Bull figurine (Bronze)            | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Snake figurine (Bronze)           | 8       | 1.2%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 8     | 1.2%  |
|      | Snake figurine (Silver)           | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Female Figurine (Ceramic)         | 48      | 7.2%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 48    | 7.2%  |
|      | Male figurine (Ceramic)           | 16      | 2.4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 16    | 2.4%  |
|      | Zoomorphic chariot (Ceramic)      | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Bead (Amethyst)                   | 3       | .5%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 3     | .5%   |
|      | Bead (Carnelian)                  | 61      | 9.2%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 61    | 9.2%  |
|      | Bead (Faience)                    | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Bead (Feldspar)                   | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Bead (Frit)                       | 60      | 9.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 60    | 9.0%  |
|      | Bead (Lapis)                      | 5       | .8%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 5     | .8%   |
|      | Bead (Onyx)                       | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Bead (Rock Crystal)               | 5       | .8%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 5     | .8%   |
|      | Medallion (Gold)                  | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Toggle Pin (Bronze)               | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Torque (Bronze)                   | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Lion Amulet (Carnelian)           | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Cylinder Seal                     | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Spindle (Bronze)                  | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Axe (Bronze)                      | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Blade (Flint)                     | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Macehead                          | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Bowl (Basalt)                     | 2       | .3%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   |
|      | Bowl with applied heads (Ceramic) | 1       | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 1     | .2%   |
|      | Total                             |         | 662   | 99.8%              | 1    | .2%   | 663   |

Faunal remains are not discussed in any detail. The presence of dove and goat bones in the favissae is noted, as is the presence of other animal bones, although species are not given. A third cistern, reused as a favissae at the end of the temple's life, contained large numbers of sheep bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 5). The burial fauna in the square of the cisterns is worth noting. Three dog burials were found, two skeletons side by side in a single pit the other in its own pit slightly further away. Each dog was covered in large sherds and a hard fill mixed with cow bones (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 29). Another pit contained a goat skull and a human skull surrounded by other animal bones. There was also a disarticulated sheep skeleton consisting of the skull in the centre with the long bones arranged in a square around it (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 29).

## Tel Haror

### *Stratum V*

The finds from Tel Haror Stratum V are limited to the side court, that is, the area to the east of the temple building. Only 31 items were recorded as well as 4097 bones. The most frequent finds are bowls (9 examples) and miniature bowls (8 examples). Also present was a cooking pot, store jars, jugs, dipper juglets, a bulla, and an anthropomorphic figurine. Katz has suggested that the small number of finds from this earlier stratum may be due to a deliberate clearing of the area prior to the later rebuilding work (Katz 2000: 47). A number of the finds are from the large pit in the northeast part of the courtyard, which also contained



**Figure 48- Tel Haror, Stratum V Temple**

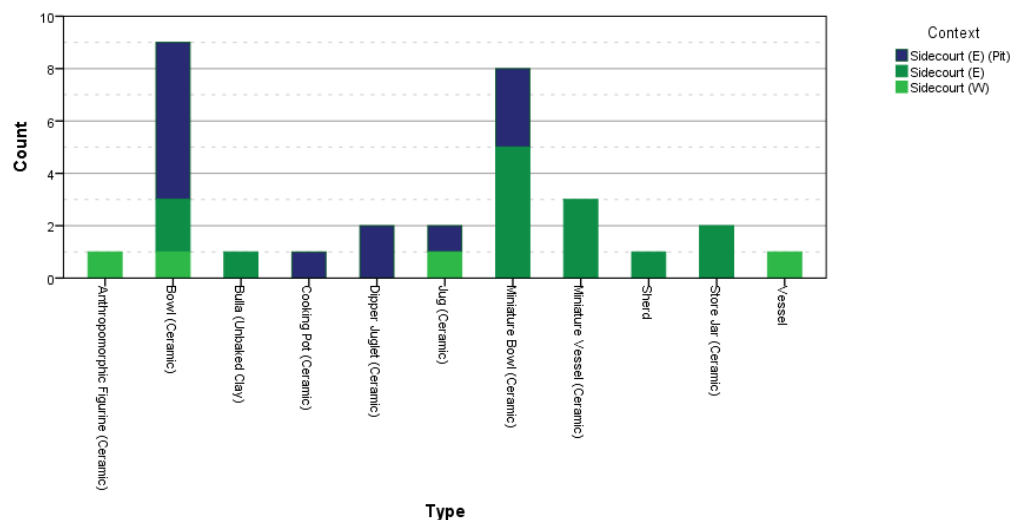
animal burials, although which finds these are is not specified. The animal bones from the pit and the surrounding floor consist of 980 sheep/goat, 34 cattle, 2 pig 3 gazelle/deer, as well as 3115 unidentified bones. Stratum V also has the highest concentration of buried corvids (both crow and raven) and canids (puppies). These are associated with the large pit, the minimum number of corvid individuals is 64, and the canid is 45.

**Table 5- The Finds from Tel Haror, Stratum V**

|       |                                    | Context       |       |                     |       |               |       | Total |        |
|-------|------------------------------------|---------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-------|--------|
|       |                                    | Sidecourt (E) |       | Sidecourt (E) (Pit) |       | Sidecourt (W) |       |       |        |
|       |                                    | No.           | %     | No.                 | %     | No.           | %     | No.   | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)                     | 2             | 6.9%  | 6                   | 20.7% | 1             | 3.4%  | 9     | 31.0%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)              | 0             | 0.0%  | 1                   | 3.4%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1     | 3.4%   |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)            | 0             | 0.0%  | 2                   | 6.9%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 2     | 6.9%   |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                      | 0             | 0.0%  | 1                   | 3.4%  | 1             | 3.4%  | 2     | 6.9%   |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)           | 5             | 17.2% | 3                   | 10.3% | 0             | 0.0%  | 8     | 27.6%  |
|       | Miniature Vessel (Ceramic)         | 3             | 10.3% | 0                   | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 3     | 10.3%  |
|       | Store Jar (Ceramic)                | 2             | 6.9%  | 0                   | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 2     | 6.9%   |
|       | Anthropomorphic Figurine (Ceramic) | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0%  | 1             | 3.4%  | 1     | 3.4%   |
|       | Bulla (Unbaked Clay)               | 1             | 3.4%  | 0                   | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1     | 3.4%   |
| Total |                                    | 13            | 44.8% | 13                  | 44.8% | 3             | 10.3% | 29    | 100.0% |

**Table 4- The Fauna from Tel Haror, Stratum V**

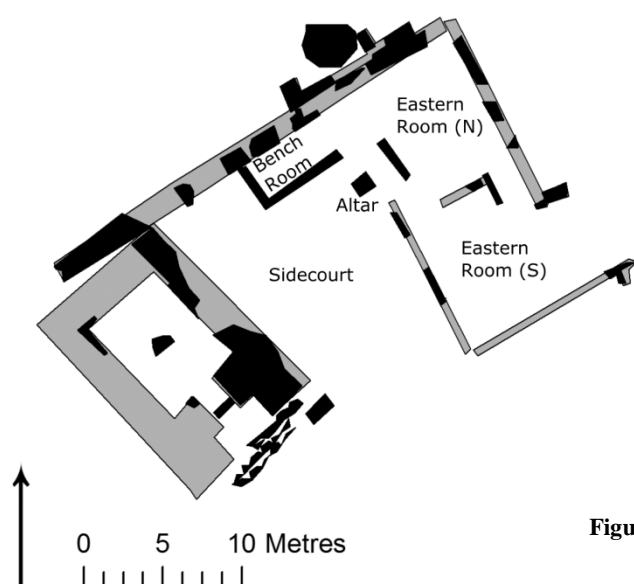
|         |              | Context        |          |
|---------|--------------|----------------|----------|
|         |              | Courtyard East |          |
|         |              | Count          | % of Tot |
| Species | Bos          | 34             | 0.80     |
|         | Ovis/Capra   | 980            | 23.70    |
|         | Sus          | 2              | 0.04     |
|         | Gazelle/Deer | 3              | 0.07     |
|         | Unidentified | 3115           | 75.00    |
|         | Total        | 4134           | 100.00   |



**Graph 3- The Finds from Tel Haror, Stratum V**

### *Stratum IVb*

Stratum IVb has produced many more finds (156 in total), mainly from the courtyard (107 items), though some were found in the “Eastern Rooms”, the outbuildings on the eastern side of the temple complex (49 items). The division of the courtyard into east and west is artificially imposed by the excavators; no physical division exists though it is maintained here for continuity. The majority of activity seems to have been centred on the square mudbrick altar 8269 in the northeast of the courtyard, above the large pit from Stratum V. 84 objects



**Figure 49- Tel Haror, Stratum IVb Temple Area**

were found on and around the altar, mostly bowls (33), miniature bowls (22), and dipper juglets (14). There were also some stands (5), cooking pots (2), jugs (2), a chalice, and a store jar as well as 2 miniature jars, a miniature bottle, and a miniature juglet. Further south than the altar there were very few finds, only 3 bowls and 3 miniature bowls are identified. The faunal remains were similarly centred on the altar and these include 383 sheep/goat, 20 cattle, 1 gazelle/deer, 2 fish and 3 bird bones as well as 1214 unidentified bones. There were also at least 17 corvid and 11 canid individuals buried here. The western half of the courtyard is quite badly disturbed, but here, near the main temple building 3 stands, 2 faience beads, a miniature bottle and a miniature bowl were excavated. There were also 107 sheep/goat bones, 4 cattle bones and 522 unidentified bones in this area. A single canid is represented but the skeleton is incomplete.

The finds in the Eastern Rooms mainly derive from two pits in the northern room, the smaller contained 2 dipper juglets, a bowl and a miniature bowl (Katz 2000: 122). The larger, in the northern part of this room, contained 25 miniature bowls, 3 miniature bottles, a miniature jar, and another 2 miniature vessels of unspecified type. There were also 2 dipper juglets and a storage jar in this northern pit. The southern room only had 9 items recorded, 2 bowls, a jug, a stand, 4 miniature bowls, and 2 other miniature vessels. The animal bones are not specifically divided into the different spaces but the totals for the eastern rooms were 469 sheep/goat, 48 cattle, 1 pig, 1 gazelle/deer, 3 fish, and 3 bird bones as well as 1481 unidentified bones. There were also a minimum number of 16 corvid and 12 canid

**Table 6- The Finds from Tel Haror, Stratum IVb**

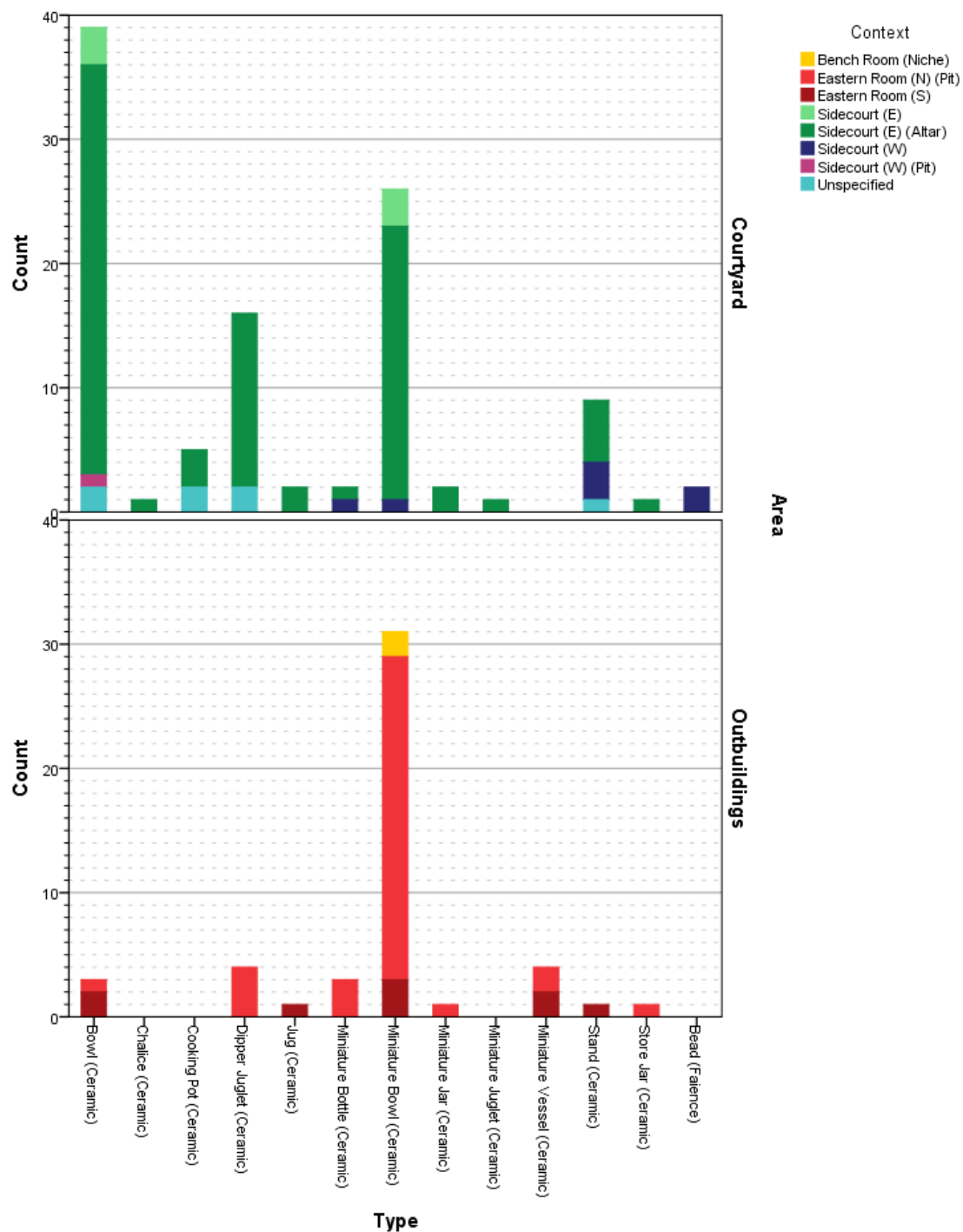
|                |                            | Context            |      |                        |       |                  |      |               |      |                       |       |               |      |                     |      | Total |      |         |        |
|----------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------|------------------------|-------|------------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------|------|---------------------|------|-------|------|---------|--------|
|                |                            | Bench Room (Niche) |      | Eastern Room (N) (Pit) |       | Eastern Room (S) |      | Sidecourt (E) |      | Sidecourt (E) (Altar) |       | Sidecourt (W) |      | Sidecourt (W) (Pit) |      |       |      | Unspec. |        |
|                |                            | No.                | %    | No.                    | %     | No.              | %    | No.           | %    | No.                   | %     | No.           | %    | No.                 | %    |       |      | No.     | %      |
| Type           | Bowl (Ceramic)             | 0                  | 0.0% | 1                      | .6%   | 2                | 1.3% | 3             | 1.9% | 33                    | 21.3% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                   | .6%  | 2     | 1.3% | 42      | 27.1%  |
|                | Chalice (Ceramic)          | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                      | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                     | .6%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1       | .6%    |
|                | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)      | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                      | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 3                     | 1.9%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 2     | 1.3% | 5       | 3.2%   |
|                | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)    | 0                  | 0.0% | 4                      | 2.6%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 14                    | 9.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 2     | 1.3% | 20      | 12.9%  |
|                | Jug (Ceramic)              | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                      | 0.0%  | 1                | .6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2                     | 1.3%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3       | 1.9%   |
|                | Miniature Bottle (Ceramic) | 0                  | 0.0% | 3                      | 1.9%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                     | .6%   | 1             | .6%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 5       | 3.2%   |
|                | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)   | 2                  | 1.3% | 26                     | 16.8% | 3                | 1.9% | 3             | 1.9% | 22                    | 14.2% | 1             | .6%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 57      | 36.8%  |
|                | Miniature Jar (Ceramic)    | 0                  | 0.0% | 1                      | .6%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2                     | 1.3%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3       | 1.9%   |
|                | Miniature Juglet (Ceramic) | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                      | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                     | .6%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1       | .6%    |
|                | Miniature Vessel (Ceramic) | 0                  | 0.0% | 2                      | 1.3%  | 2                | 1.3% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4       | 2.6%   |
|                | Stand (Ceramic)            | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                      | 0.0%  | 1                | .6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 5                     | 3.2%  | 3             | 1.9% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1     | .6%  | 10      | 6.5%   |
|                | Store Jar (Ceramic)        | 0                  | 0.0% | 1                      | .6%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                     | .6%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2       | 1.3%   |
| Bead (Faience) | 0                          | 0.0%               | 0    | 0.0%                   | 0     | 0.0%             | 0    | 0.0%          | 0    | 0.0%                  | 2     | 1.3%          | 0    | 0.0%                | 0    | 0.0%  | 2    | 1.3%    |        |
| Total          |                            | 2                  | 1.3% | 38                     | 24.5% | 9                | 5.8% | 6             | 3.9% | 85                    | 54.8% | 7             | 4.5% | 1                   | .6%  | 7     | 4.5% | 155     | 100.0% |



individuals buried in the eastern rooms. The “Bench Room” which bounds the northern edge of the side court, only had 2 miniature bowls in it in this stratum, which were found in a niche in the wall. It also contained 725 sheep/goat bones, 20 cattle bones, 2 gazelle/deer bones, 1 fish and 2 bird bones as well as 2060 unidentified bones. There were also 4 corvid individuals represented but these were not buried.

**Table 7- The Fauna from Tel Haror, Stratum IVb**

|         |              | Context          |      |               |      |                |      |            |      | Total |      |
|---------|--------------|------------------|------|---------------|------|----------------|------|------------|------|-------|------|
|         |              | Courtyard (East) |      | Eastern Rooms |      | Courtyard West |      | Bench Room |      |       |      |
|         |              | No.              | %    | No.           | %    | No.            | %    | No.        | %    | No    | %    |
| Species | Bos          | 20               | 1.2  | 48            | 2.4  | 4              | 0.8  | 20         | 0.7  | 92    | 1.3  |
|         | Ovis/Capra   | 383              | 23.6 | 469           | 23.4 | 107            | 16.9 | 725        | 25.8 | 1684  | 23.8 |
|         | Sus          | 0                | 0    | 1             | 0.04 | 0              | 0    | 0          | 0    | 1     | 0.01 |
|         | Gazelle      | 1                | 0.1  | 1             | 0.04 | 0              | 0    | 2          | 0.1  | 4     | 0.05 |
|         | Fish         | 2                | 0.1  | 3             | 0.1  | 0              | 0    | 1          | 0.04 | 6     | 0.08 |
|         | Bird         | 3                | 0.2  | 3             | 0.1  | 0              | 0    | 2          | 0.1  | 8     | 0.1  |
|         | Unidentified | 1214             | 74.8 | 1481          | 73.8 | 522            | 82.5 | 2060       | 73.3 | 5277  | 74.6 |
|         | Total        | 1623             | 100  | 2006          | 100  | 633            | 100  | 2810       | 100  | 7072  | 100  |

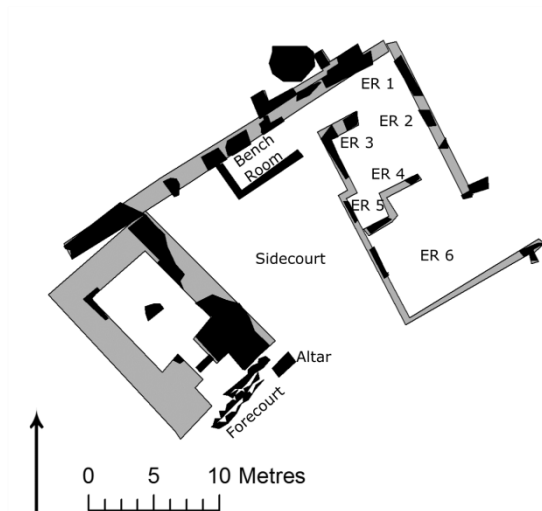


Graph 4- The finds from Tel Haror Stratum IVb

### Stratum IVa

Stratum IVa is the best preserved and final phase of the temple. Although the cella itself is poorly preserved because of First World War trenches that cut across it, the courtyard and eastern rooms are relatively well preserved. In the cella itself, the only finds were 2 storage jars, one resting against the rear wall of the temple and the other inside the large circular

depression in the centre of the cella floor. In the porch a number of finds were excavated, 3 bowls, a cooking pot, a dipper juglet, a lamp, and a miniature bowl. A bowl was also found on the temple steps. The temple building also contained 8 sheep/goat bones and 17 unidentified bones.



**Figure 50- Tel Haror, Stratum IVa temple area**

The courtyard has been divided into areas in keeping with the excavation reports. The forecourt (the southern courtyard in Katz 2000), contains a large altar of mudbrick (locus 8705) with a basin set into it which was filled with ashes and oily residue (Katz 2000: 103). A number of objects were found on this altar, mostly bowls (11 examples) as well as 2 cooking pots, 2 dipper juglets, 2 lamps, 2 miniature bowls, 2 sherds with zoomorphic applied decoration (a snake and an unidentified animal), a chalice, a stand, a stopper, a zoomorphic figurine and a stone pendant of a ram. Fewer finds were recovered from the rest of the forecourt, but these consisted of 5 bowls, 3 sherds with applied snake decorations, a dipper juglet, a krater, and a store jar. In this area, there were also 237 sheep/goat bones, 8 cattle bones, and 737 unidentified bones.

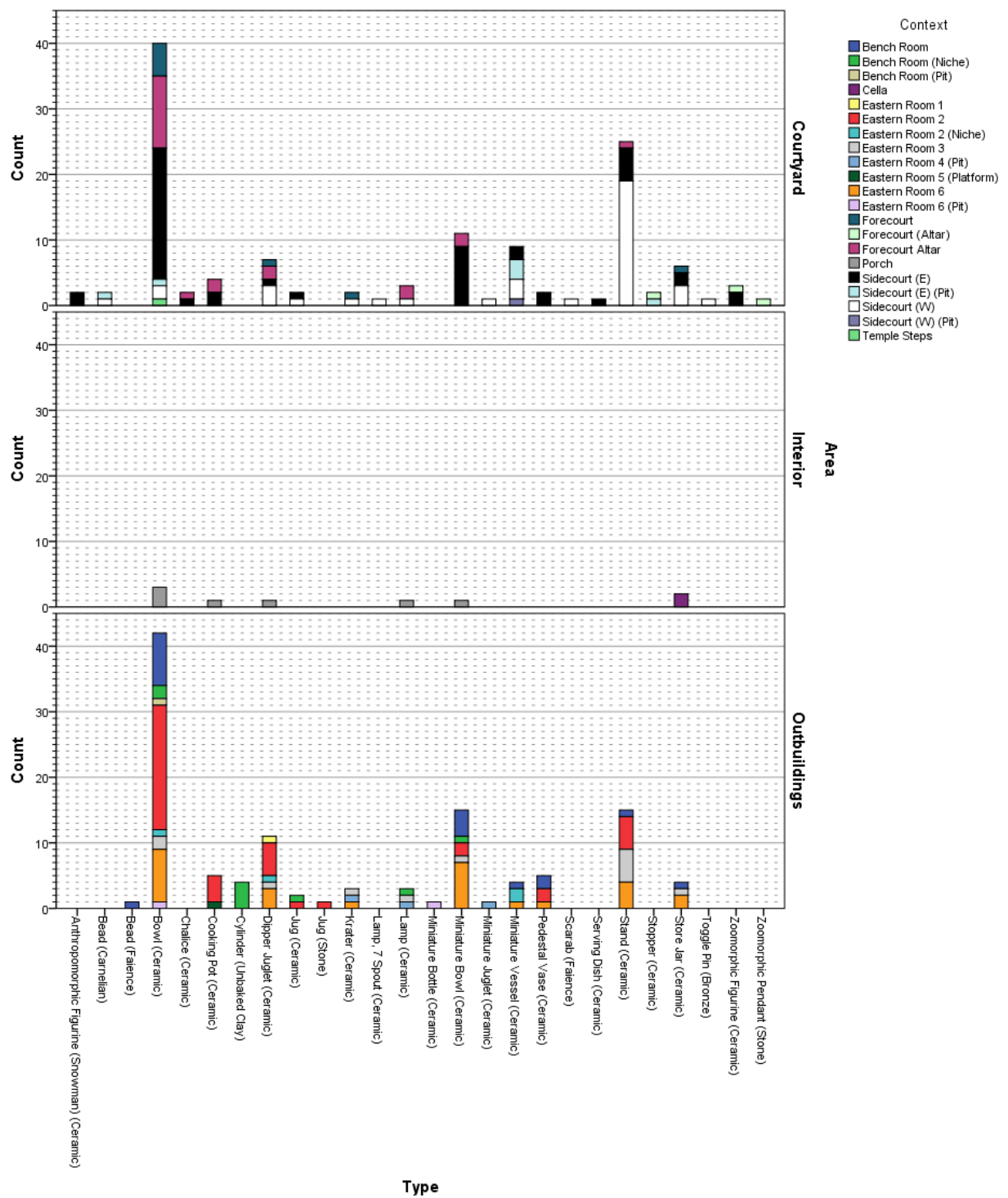
The western half of the side court contained a pit in which was found a single miniature vessel. The rest of the finds in the western part of the side court were found on the floor or in fills immediately above it (Katz 2000: 105-106). The most frequent find here was 19 stands, 5 of which were covered in a white slip, and 3 of which were painted. Unfortunately Katz does not specify the type of stand, but from her Plate 25 it would seem that at least some of these were small pot stands, not the tall cultic stands, although a number of “incense” stands

**Table 8- The Finds from Tel Haror, Stratum IVa**

|       |                                    | Context    |      |                    |      |                  |      |       |      |                |      |                |       |                        |      |                |      |                      |      |                           |      |                |       |
|-------|------------------------------------|------------|------|--------------------|------|------------------|------|-------|------|----------------|------|----------------|-------|------------------------|------|----------------|------|----------------------|------|---------------------------|------|----------------|-------|
|       |                                    | Bench Room |      | Bench Room (Niche) |      | Bench Room (Pit) |      | Cella |      | Eastern Room 1 |      | Eastern Room 2 |       | Eastern Room 2 (Niche) |      | Eastern Room 3 |      | Eastern Room 4 (Pit) |      | Eastern Room 5 (Platform) |      | Eastern Room 6 |       |
|       |                                    |            |      |                    |      |                  |      |       |      |                |      |                |       |                        |      |                |      |                      |      |                           |      |                |       |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)                     | 8          | 3.1% | 2                  | .8%  | 1                | .4%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 19             | 7.5%  | 1                      | .4%  | 2              | .8%  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 8              | 3.1%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)                  | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)              | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 4              | 1.6%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 1                         | .4%  | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)            | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 5              | 2.0%  | 1                      | .4%  | 1              | .4%  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 3              | 1.2%  |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                      | 0          | 0.0% | 1                  | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1              | .4%   | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)                   | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 1                    | .4%  | 0                         | 0.0% | 1              | .4%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)                     | 0          | 0.0% | 1                  | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 1                    | .4%  | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Lamp, 7 Spout (Ceramic)            | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Miniature Bottle (Ceramic)         | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)           | 4          | 1.6% | 1                  | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 2              | .8%   | 0                      | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 7              | 2.8%  |
|       | Miniature Juglet (Ceramic)         | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1                    | .4%  | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Miniature Vessel (Ceramic)         | 1          | .4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 2                      | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 1              | .4%   |
|       | Pedestal Vase (Ceramic)            | 2          | .8%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 2              | .8%   | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 1              | .4%   |
|       | Serving Dish (Ceramic)             | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Stand (Ceramic)                    | 1          | .4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 5              | 2.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 5              | 2.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 4              | 1.6%  |
|       | Stopper (Ceramic)                  | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Store Jar (Ceramic)                | 1          | .4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2     | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 2              | .8%   |
|       | Anthropomorphic Figurine (Snowman) | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Zoomorphic Figurine (Ceramic)      | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Bead (Carnelian)                   | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Bead (Faience)                     | 1          | .4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Scarab (Faience)                   | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Zoomorphic Pendant (Stone)         | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Toggle Pin (Bronze)                | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Jug (Stone)                        | 0          | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1              | .4%   | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
|       | Cylinder (Unbaked Clay)            | 0          | 0.0% | 4                  | 1.6% | 0                | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                      | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0                    | 0.0% | 0                         | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0%  |
| Total |                                    | 18         | 7.1% | 9                  | 3.5% | 1                | .4%  | 2     | .8%  | 1              | .4%  | 39             | 15.4% | 4                      | 1.6% | 12             | 4.7% | 3                    | 1.2% | 1                         | .4%  | 27             | 10.6% |

Table 6 ctd.-The Finds from Tel Haror, Stratum IVA

|       |                                    | Context              |      |           |      |                   |      |                 |      |       |      |               |       |                     |      |               |       |                     |      | Total |      |              |        |
|-------|------------------------------------|----------------------|------|-----------|------|-------------------|------|-----------------|------|-------|------|---------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------------|-------|---------------------|------|-------|------|--------------|--------|
|       |                                    | Eastern Room 6 (Pit) |      | Forecourt |      | Forecourt (Altar) |      | Forecourt Altar |      | Porch |      | Sidecourt (E) |       | Sidecourt (E) (Pit) |      | Sidecourt (W) |       | Sidecourt (W) (Pit) |      |       |      | Temple Steps |        |
|       |                                    | No.                  | %    | No.       | %    | No.               | %    | No.             | %    | No.   | %    | No.           | %     | No.                 | %    | No.           | %     | No.                 | %    | No.   | %    | No.          | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)                     | 1                    | .4%  | 5         | 2.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 11              | 4.3% | 3     | 1.2% | 20            | 7.9%  | 1                   | .4%  | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 1     | .4%  | 85           | 33.5%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)                  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 1               | .4%  | 0     | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2            | .8%    |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)              | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 2               | .8%  | 1     | .4%  | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 10           | 3.9%   |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)            | 0                    | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  | 0                 | 0.0% | 2               | .8%  | 1     | .4%  | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 3             | 1.2%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 19           | 7.5%   |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                      | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4            | 1.6%   |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)                   | 0                    | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 5            | 2.0%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)                     | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 2               | .8%  | 1     | .4%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 7            | 2.8%   |
|       | Lamp, 7 Spout (Ceramic)            | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Miniature Bottle (Ceramic)         | 1                    | .4%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)           | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 2               | .8%  | 1     | .4%  | 9             | 3.5%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 27           | 10.6%  |
|       | Miniature Juglet (Ceramic)         | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2            | .8%    |
|       | Miniature Vessel (Ceramic)         | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2             | .8%   | 3                   | 1.2% | 3             | 1.2%  | 1                   | .4%  | 0     | 0.0% | 13           | 5.1%   |
|       | Pedestal Vase (Ceramic)            | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 7            | 2.8%   |
|       | Serving Dish (Ceramic)             | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Stand (Ceramic)                    | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 1               | .4%  | 0     | 0.0% | 5             | 2.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 19            | 7.5%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 40           | 15.7%  |
|       | Stopper (Ceramic)                  | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1                 | .4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 1                   | .4%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2            | .8%    |
|       | Store Jar (Ceramic)                | 0                    | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 3             | 1.2%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 12           | 4.7%   |
|       | Anthropomorphic Figurine (Snowman) | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2            | .8%    |
|       | Zoomorphic Figurine (Ceramic)      | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1                 | .4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2             | .8%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3            | 1.2%   |
|       | Bead (Carnelian)                   | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 1                   | .4%  | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2            | .8%    |
|       | Bead (Faience)                     | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Scarab (Faience)                   | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Zoomorphic Pendant (Stone)         | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1                 | .4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Toggle Pin (Bronze)                | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%   | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Jug (Stone)                        | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1            | .4%    |
|       | Cylinder (Unbaked Clay)            | 0                    | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                 | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4            | 1.6%   |
| Total |                                    | 2                    | .8%  | 8         | 3.1% | 3                 | 1.2% | 21              | 8.3% | 7     | 2.8% | 50            | 19.7% | 6                   | 2.4% | 38            | 15.0% | 1                   | .4%  | 1     | .4%  | 254          | 100.0% |



Graph 5- The Finds from Tel Haror Stratum IVa

seem to have been present (Katz 2000: 66). The rest of the finds consisted of 3 dipper juglets, 3 store jars, 3 sherds with applied snail or spiral applied decorations, 2 bowls, a carnelian bead, a jug, a krater, a seven spouted lamp, an ordinary lamp, a miniature juglet, 3 other miniature vessels, a faience scarab, and a bronze toggle pin. The animal bones in the western part of the courtyard consist of 185 sheep/goat, 7 cattle, 2 bird and 639 unidentified.

**Table 9- The Fauna from Tel Haror, Stratum IVa**

|         |              | Context        |       |               |       |                |       |            |       |           |       |          |       | Total |       |
|---------|--------------|----------------|-------|---------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
|         |              | Courtyard East |       | Eastern Rooms |       | Courtyard West |       | Bench Room |       | Forecourt |       | Interior |       |       |       |
|         |              | No.            | %     | No.           | %     | No.            | %     | No.        | %     | No.       | %     | No.      | %     | No.   | %     |
| Species | Bos          | 12             | 1.67  | 86            | 1.63  | 7              | 0.84  | 8          | 0.59  | 8         | 0.81  | 0        | 0.00  | 121   | 1.32  |
|         | Ovis/Capra   | 234            | 32.50 | 1028          | 19.48 | 185            | 22.21 | 464        | 34.50 | 237       | 24.11 | 8        | 32.00 | 2156  | 23.48 |
|         | Sus          | 2              | 0.28  | 0             | 0.00  | 0              | 0.00  | 0          | 0.00  | 0         | 0.00  | 0        | 0.00  | 2     | 0.02  |
|         | Gazelle/Deer | 0              | 0.00  | 2             | 0.04  | 0              | 0.00  | 3          | 0.22  | 0         | 0.00  | 0        | 0.00  | 5     | 0.05  |
|         | Fish         | 0              | 0.00  | 0             | 0.00  | 0              | 0.00  | 0          | 0.00  | 0         | 0.00  | 0        | 0.00  | 0     | 0.00  |
|         | Bird         | 0              | 0.00  | 8             | 0.15  | 2              | 0.24  | 0          | 0.00  | 1         | 0.10  | 0        | 0.00  | 11    | 0.12  |
|         | Unidentified | 472            | 65.56 | 4152          | 78.70 | 639            | 76.71 | 870        | 64.68 | 737       | 74.97 | 17       | 68.00 | 6887  | 75.01 |
|         | Total        | 720            | 100   | 5276          | 100   | 833            | 100   | 1345       | 100   | 983       | 100   | 25       | 100   | 9182  | 100   |

The eastern courtyard in this phase has a series of small pits in it although the altar from Stratum IVb seems to have gone out of use. Three small pits were found in the southern part of the side court, beneath the remains of a fallen mudbrick wall, these produced 3 miniature vessels, a bowl, and a carnelian bead. Another pit in the northeast corner of the side court produced a single ceramic stopper. The majority of finds from the rest of the eastern half of the side court were bowls (20 examples). There were also 5 stands, at least 3 of which were the tall cultic stands (each white slipped, one painted and one with applied zoomorphic decorations). Also present were 2 cooking pots, 2 pedestal vases, 2 sherds (1 with applied snake decoration, the other with an applied snail/spiral decoration), 2 store jars, a chalice, a dipper juglet, a jug, a serving dish, 9 miniature bowls, 2 other miniature vessels, 2 snowman figurines, and 2 zoomorphic figurines (1 fragment depicting the head of a ram). The animal bones from the eastern courtyard consisted of 234 sheep/goat, 12 cattle, 2 pig and 800 unidentified bone fragments. There were also canine and corvid burials, 4 individuals of each in the north east of the courtyard.

The “Bench Room” which bounds the northern edge of the side court is also best preserved in this stratum. Most of the finds come from the floors or fills just above the floor, these include 8 bowls, 4 miniature bowls, 1 other miniature vessel, 2 pedestal vases, 2 sherds with applied

snake decoration, a stand, a store jar, and a faience bead. There were two niches in the bench room, which contained 4 unbaked cylinders, 2 bowls, a jug, a lamp, a miniature bowl, and a sherd with an applied snake decoration. A pit dug in the centre of the floor contained a single bowl. There were also 464 sheep/goat bones, 8 cattle bones, 3 gazelle/deer, and 870 unidentified bone fragments in the room. Bones from 5 corvids were found in the Bench Room as well but they were disarticulated.

The Eastern Rooms in this latest phase are rebuilt, creating a total of six spaces. The northernmost space, Eastern Room 1 was badly damaged by later activity on the site and as such, the only object recovered here was a dipper juglet. To the south is Eastern Room 2, the northern part of which is damaged by the same pit that has destroyed most of Eastern Room 1. The rest of the room is relatively well preserved however, and a number of finds were excavated from the floor and the debris immediately above the floor (Katz 2000: 125). This assemblage was made up mostly of bowls (19 examples) but also contained 4 cooking pots, 5 dipper juglets, a jug, 2 miniature bowls, 2 pedestal vases, 5 stands, 4 sherds with applied snake decorations, and a stone dipper juglet. A wall niche in Eastern Room 2 contained a bowl, a dipper juglet, and 2 miniature vessels.

Eastern Room 3 is a small space to the southwest of Room 2 (Katz 2000: 127). It contained 2 bowls, a dipper juglet, a krater, a lamp, a miniature bowl, 5 stands, a store jars and 2 sherds with applied decoration (one anthropomorphic and one snake). Immediately south again is Eastern Room 4, which is of a similar size to Room 3 but is much disturbed by a later pit (Katz 2000: 129). A small pit was found containing the only in situ remains from Room 4, a krater, a lamp, and a miniature juglet. Eastern Room 5 is to the south of Room 4, and is a small space taken up mostly by a clay platform on which was a single cooking pot (Katz 2000: 130). Eastern Room 6 is badly disturbed. Katz refers to it simply as a space since it is not clear if there were walls that delineated it (Katz 2000: 130). It may actually be a series of separate contexts but since this is not clear, they are treated as a single context here. The finds from Room 6 consist of 8 bowls, 3 dipper juglets, a krater, 7 miniature bowl, 1 other miniature vessel, a pedestal vase, 4 stands, 2 store jars, and a sherd with applied snake decoration. Two small pits in the centre of the space produced a bowl and a miniature bottle respectively. The animal bones from all the eastern rooms consist of 1028 sheep/goat, 86 cattle, 2 gazelle/deer, 8 bird and 4152 unidentified fragments. There were also 9 corvid and 20 canine burials in the eastern rooms.

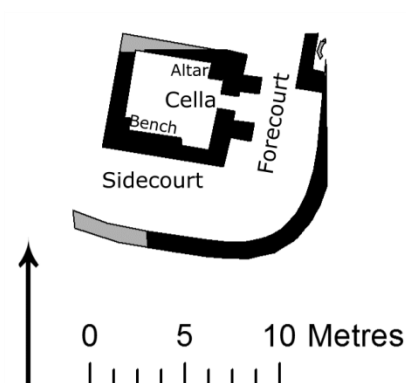


## Tell el-Hayyat

Tell el-Hayyat is probably the most comprehensively published of the sites in this analysis. Although the temple itself is relatively small, the number of published finds is much higher and much more detailed than at the other sites, thanks to the inclusion of the site's databases in the final publication. Many of the examples are single sherds, and although it is possible that at least some of these are from the same vessel, the excavation report lists those positively identified as being several sherds from the same vessel. Wherever several sherds are listed as being from a single vessel, it is entered into the present data as a single item in the hope that the data will be as representative of actual vessel numbers as possible. There are many sherds listed as unidentified body sherds, these are mentioned in terms of numbers, for the sake of accuracy, but they are not discussed in detail.

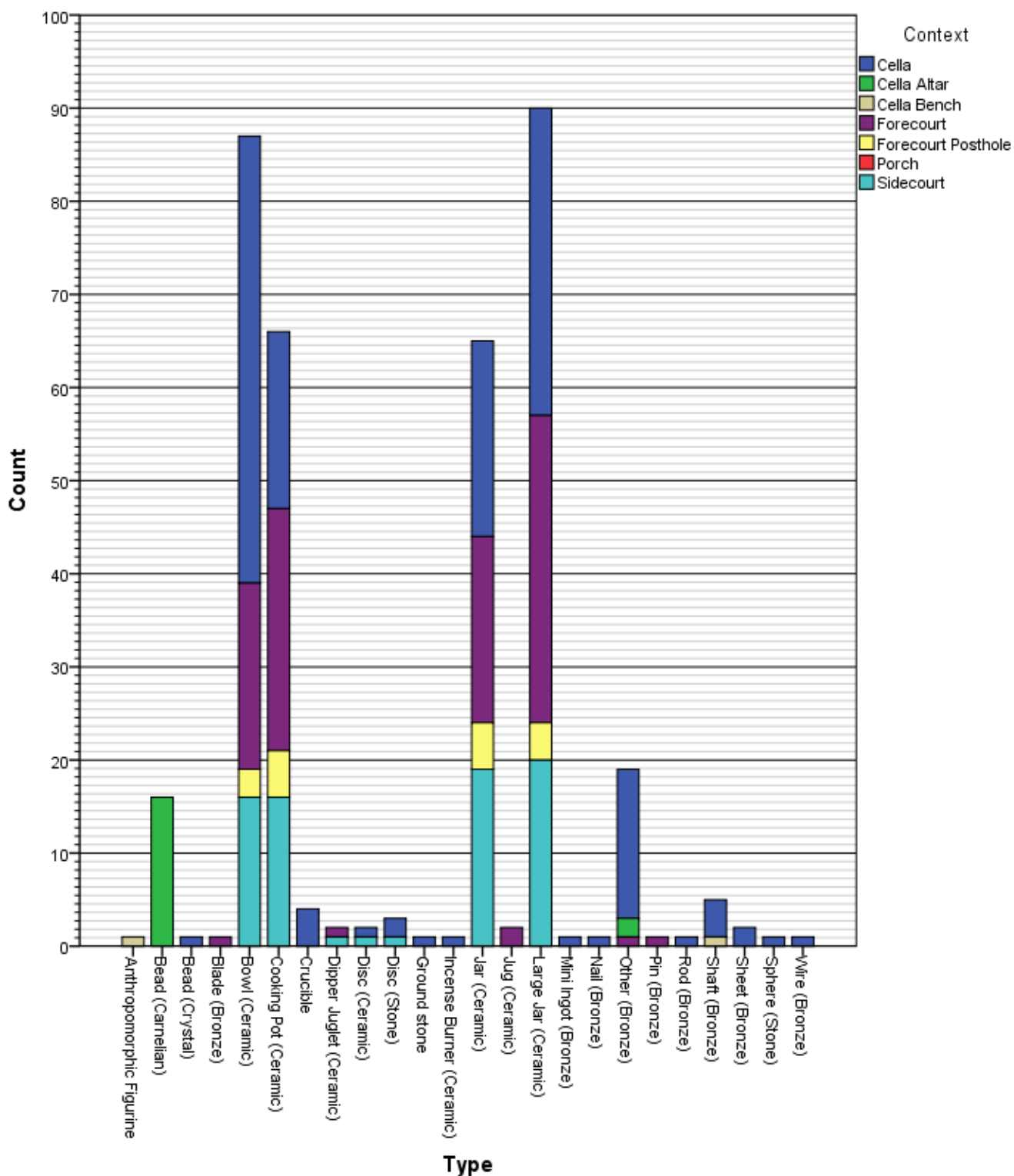
### *Phase 5*

The earliest temple phase, temple 5 contained 1386 objects, 1012 of which were unidentified sherds. Most of the finds are in the courtyard (712 of the total, including 516 unidentified sherds which is 51% of the total assemblage), but the interior of the temple had almost as many finds (674 in total, including 496 unidentified sherds).



**Figure 51- Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5 Temple**

The main groups of finds in the cella itself were bowls (48 examples), large jars (33 examples), average sized jars (21 examples), and cooking pots (19 examples). Also present were 4 crucible pieces, a small incense burner, a crystal bead, 3 discs (2 stone and 1 ceramic),



Graph 6- The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5

a miniature oxhide ingot in bronze, a ground stone object, and a stone sphere. There were also several fragments of bronze objects including a nail, a rod, 4 fragments of a shaft, 2 pieces of bronze sheet and a piece of wire, as well as 16 unidentifiable bronze fragments. There were also animal bones found in the cella, mostly sheep/goat (948 bones) and cattle

**Table 10- The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5**

|      |                          | Context |       |             |      |             |      |           |      |                    |      |           |      | Total |       |
|------|--------------------------|---------|-------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|------|--------------------|------|-----------|------|-------|-------|
|      |                          | Cella   |       | Cella Altar |      | Cella Bench |      | Forecourt |      | Forecourt Posthole |      | Sidecourt |      |       |       |
|      |                          | No.     | %     | No.         | %    | No.         | %    | No.       | %    | No.                | %    | No.       | %    | No.   | %     |
| Type | Bowl (Ceramic)           | 48      | 12.8% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 20        | 5.3% | 3                  | .8%  | 16        | 4.3% | 87    | 23.3% |
|      | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)    | 19      | 5.1%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 26        | 7.0% | 5                  | 1.3% | 16        | 4.3% | 66    | 17.6% |
|      | Crucible                 | 4       | 1.1%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 4     | 1.1%  |
|      | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)  | 0       | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 2     | .5%   |
|      | Incense Burner (Ceramic) | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Jar (Ceramic)            | 21      | 5.6%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 20        | 5.3% | 5                  | 1.3% | 19        | 5.1% | 65    | 17.4% |
|      | Jug (Ceramic)            | 0       | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 2         | .5%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .5%   |
|      | Large Jar (Ceramic)      | 33      | 8.8%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 33        | 8.8% | 4                  | 1.1% | 20        | 5.3% | 90    | 24.1% |
|      | Anthropomorphic Figurine | 0       | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1           | .3%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Bead (Carnelian)         | 0       | 0.0%  | 16          | 4.3% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 16    | 4.3%  |
|      | Bead (Crystal)           | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Blade (Bronze)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Disc (Ceramic)           | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 2     | .5%   |
|      | Disc (Stone)             | 2       | .5%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 3     | .8%   |
|      | Ground stone             | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Mini Ingot (Bronze)      | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Nail (Bronze)            | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Other (Bronze)           | 16      | 4.3%  | 2           | .5%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 19    | 5.1%  |
|      | Pin (Bronze)             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .3%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Rod (Bronze)             | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Shaft (Bronze)           | 4       | 1.1%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1           | .3%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 5     | 1.3%  |
|      | Sheet (Bronze)           | 2       | .5%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .5%   |
|      | Sphere (Stone)           | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Wire (Bronze)            | 1       | .3%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .3%   |
|      | Total                    |         | 158   | 42.2%       | 18   | 4.8%        | 2    | .5%       | 105  | 28.1%              | 17   | 4.5%      | 74   | 19.8% | 374   |

(105) but also 7 pig, 7 dove, 2 fish, a dog bone and 8 other birds and mammals. There were also 40 cereal seeds and 22 wild flower seeds found in the cella. A posthole in the cella floor produced 3 sheep/goat bones and a pig bone (these likely fell in from the floor). On the bench around the southwest temple wall was a fragment of a bronze shaft and a bronze anthropomorphic figurine was found embedded in the bench. On the bench were also 27 sheep/goat bones, 4 cow bones, and 1 pig bone. The stepped altar in the northeast corner of the temple had 16 carnelian beads on top of it as well as 2 fragments of bronze. The beads should perhaps be considered a single object as it seems likely that they were on a string that

**Table 12- The Fauna from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5**

|         |            | Context   |      |                |     |                          |      |           |     |                |     |       |      | TOTAL |      |
|---------|------------|-----------|------|----------------|-----|--------------------------|------|-----------|-----|----------------|-----|-------|------|-------|------|
|         |            | Courtyard |      | Courtyard wall |     | Cella Bench/<br>platform |      | Cella Pit |     | Cella Posthole |     | Cella |      |       |      |
|         |            | No.       | %    | No.            | %   | No.                      | %    | No.       | %   | No.            | %   | No.   | %    | No.   | %    |
| Species | Bos        | 193       | 20.5 | 0              | 0   | 5                        | 14.7 | 0         | 0   | 0              | 0   | 105   | 9.7  | 338   | 13.2 |
|         | Ovis/Capra | 723       | 76.8 | 2              | 100 | 28                       | 82.4 | 0         | 0   | 3              | 75  | 948   | 87.9 | 2038  | 79.6 |
|         | Sus        | 22        | 2.3  | 0              | 0   | 1                        | 2.9  | 0         | 0   | 1              | 25  | 7     | 0.6  | 61    | 2.4  |
|         | Fish       | 1         | 0.1  | 0              | 0   | 0                        | 0.0  | 0         | 0   | 0              | 0   | 2     | 0.2  | 3     | 0.1  |
|         | Columba    | 0         | 0.0  | 0              | 0   | 0                        | 0.0  | 1         | 100 | 0              | 0   | 7     | 0.6  | 108   | 4.2  |
|         | Bird       | 3         | 0.3  | 0              | 0   | 0                        | 0.0  | 0         | 0   | 0              | 0   | 7     | 0.6  | 10    | 0.4  |
|         | S.Mammal   | 0         | 0.0  | 0              | 0   | 0                        | 0.0  | 0         | 0   | 0              | 0   | 1     | 0.1  | 1     | 0.0  |
|         | Canis      | 0         | 0.0  | 0              | 0   | 0                        | 0.0  | 0         | 0   | 0              | 0   | 1     | 0.1  | 1     | 0.0  |
|         | Total      | 942       | 100  | 2              | 100 | 34                       | 100  | 1         | 100 | 4              | 100 | 1078  | 100  | 2561  | 100  |

**Table 11- The Botanical remains from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5**

|         |             | Context   |           |       | Total |
|---------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|         |             | Sidecourt | Forecourt | Cella |       |
| Species | Cereal      | 15        | 41        | 40    | 96    |
|         | Legume      | 5         | 20        | 0     | 25    |
|         | Ficus       | 10        | 27        | 0     | 37    |
|         | Vitis       | 0         | 2         | 0     | 2     |
|         | Wild Flower | 40        | 69        | 22    | 131   |
|         | Total       | 70        | 159       | 62    | 291   |

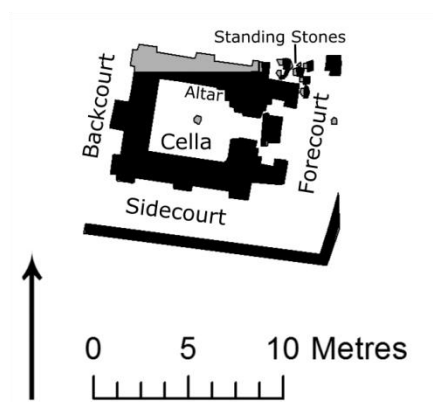
no longer survives. On the altar, there was also a cow bone, a dove bone, and a sheep/goat bone. The porch had very few objects within it, only 7 unidentified sherds were found in it.

In the forecourt the main finds were, as in the cella, large jars (33 examples), cooking pots (26 examples), bowls (20 examples), and jars (10 examples). Although these four categories are the same as those found in the cella, it is perhaps significant that the proportion of bowls is significantly lower than it was in the cella. Also found in the forecourt were 2 jugs, a dipper juglet, a bronze blade, a bronze pin and an unidentified piece of bronze. The faunal assemblage from the forecourt consisted of 592 sheep/goat, 138 cattle, 13 pig and 3 bird bones. There were also 41 cereal, 27 fig, 20 legume, 2 grape and 69 wild flower seeds. A posthole in the forecourt produced 27 sherds in total, which consisted of 5 cooking pots, 5 jars, 4 large jars, and 3 bowls, as well as 10 unidentified sherds. It seems likely that the

posthole assemblage is simply part of the larger forecourt assemblage that had fallen into the hole but the separation is maintained here in the interest of accuracy. The backcourt contained 42 sheep/goat bones, 9 cattle bones, and 5 pig bones but no sherds or small finds. Finally, the side court, situated to the south of the temple building, contained 20 large jars, 19 other jars, 16 cooking pots, and 16 bowls, as well as 269 unidentified sherds. There was also a dipper juglet and 2 discs (1 ceramic and 1 stone). The animal bones here consisted of 91 sheep/goat, 46 cattle, 4 pig, and 1 fish. There were also 15 cereal, 10 fig, 5 legume, and 40 wild flower seeds.

#### *Phase 4*

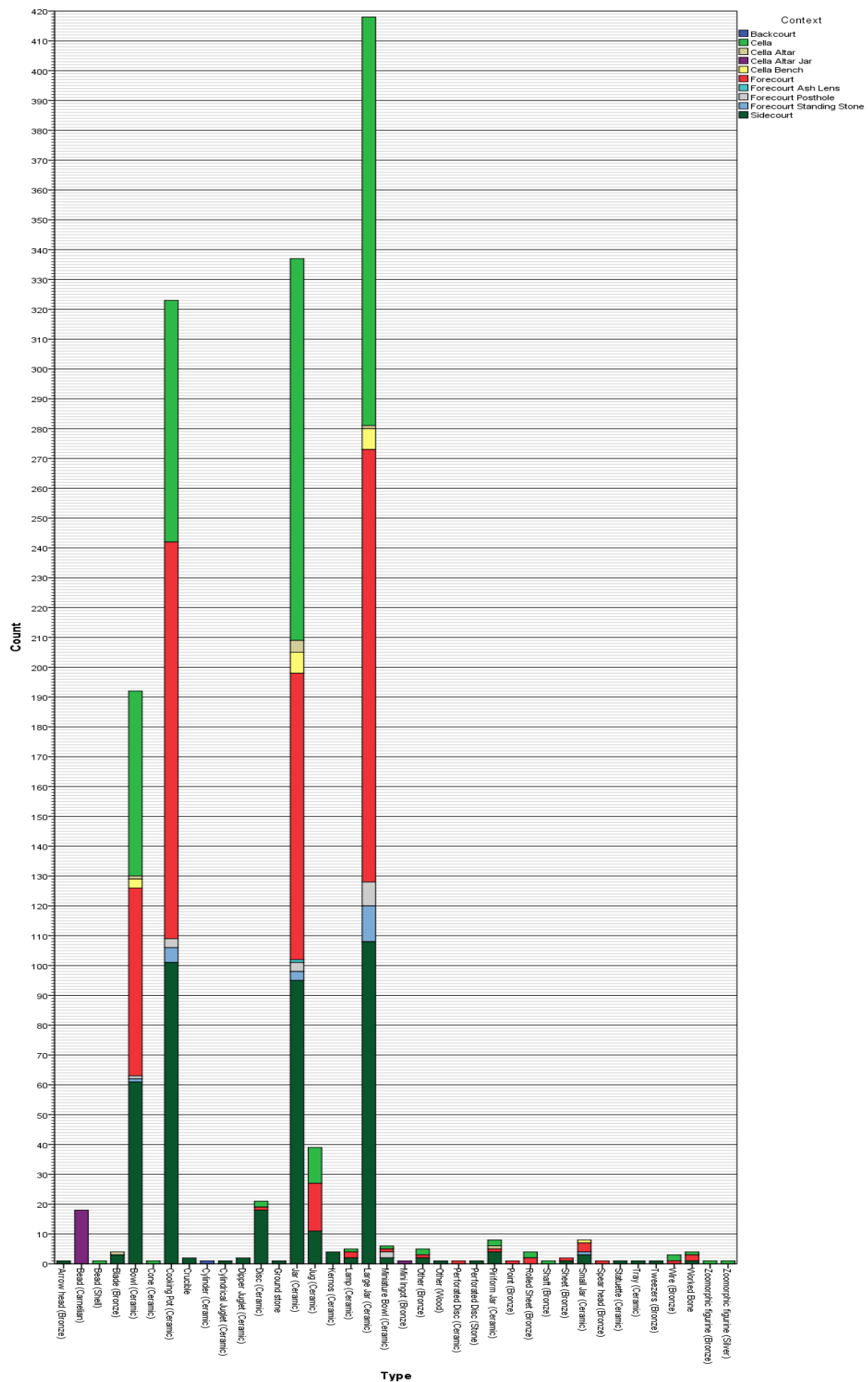
The Phase 4 temple, which was slightly larger than its predecessor was, although it followed roughly the same plan, contained the most finds of all the temple phases. In total, 2196 objects were found in the temple complex, of which 772 were unidentified sherds. Again, most of the finds were in the courtyards (1435 in total, including 494 unidentified sherds which is 65% of the total assemblage), with the temple interior containing 761 objects, including 278 unidentified sherds. The difference in the proportion of finds in the courtyard and interior respectively is interesting since in Phase 5 the finds were more or less equally divided between the two areas. It is also interesting to note there is a slight increase in the proportion of finds in the forecourt compared to the side court, now 55% of the courtyard finds are in the forecourt compared to 51% in the Phase 5 temple.



**Figure 52- Tell el-Hayyat, Phase 4 Temple**

**Table 13-The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat, Phase 4**

|       |                              | Context   |      |       |       |             |      |                 |      |             |      |           |       |                    |      |                    |      |                          |      | Total |       |           |        |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|-------------|------|-----------------|------|-------------|------|-----------|-------|--------------------|------|--------------------|------|--------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|--------|
|       |                              | Backcourt |      | Cella |       | Cella Altar |      | Cella Altar Jar |      | Cella Bench |      | Forecourt |       | Forecourt Ash Lens |      | Forecourt Posthole |      | Forecourt Standing Stone |      |       |       | Sidecourt |        |
|       |                              |           |      |       |       |             |      |                 |      |             |      |           |       |                    |      |                    |      |                          |      |       |       |           |        |
| No.   | %                            | No.       | %    | No.   | %     | No.         | %    | No.             | %    | No.         | %    | No.       | %     | No.                | %    | No.                | %    | No.                      | %    | No.   | %     |           |        |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 62    | 4.4%  | 1           | .1%  | 0               | 0.0% | 3           | .2%  | 63        | 4.4%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 1                  | .1%  | 1                        | .1%  | 61    | 4.3%  | 192       | 13.5%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)        | 0         | 0.0% | 81    | 5.7%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 133       | 9.3%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 3                  | .2%  | 5                        | .4%  | 101   | 7.1%  | 323       | 22.7%  |
|       | Crucible                     | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 2         | .1%    |
|       | Cylindrical Juglet (Ceramic) | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 2         | .1%    |
|       | Jar (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 128   | 9.0%  | 4           | .3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 7           | .5%  | 96        | 6.7%  | 1                  | .1%  | 3                  | .2%  | 3                        | .2%  | 95    | 6.7%  | 337       | 23.7%  |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 12    | .8%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 16        | 1.1%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 11    | .8%   | 39        | 2.7%   |
|       | Kernos (Ceramic)             | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 4     | .3%   | 4         | .3%    |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 2         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 5         | .4%    |
|       | Large Jar (Ceramic)          | 0         | 0.0% | 137   | 9.6%  | 1           | .1%  | 0               | 0.0% | 7           | .5%  | 145       | 10.2% | 0                  | 0.0% | 8                  | .6%  | 12                       | .8%  | 108   | 7.6%  | 418       | 29.4%  |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 2                  | .1%  | 0                        | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 6         | .4%    |
|       | Piriform Jar (Ceramic)       | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 1           | .1%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 4     | .3%   | 8         | .6%    |
|       | Small Jar (Ceramic)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1           | .1%  | 3         | .2%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 1                        | .1%  | 3     | .2%   | 8         | .6%    |
|       | Tray (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Bead (Carnelian)             | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 18              | 1.3% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 18        | 1.3%   |
|       | Bead (Shell)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Arrow head (Bronze)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Blade (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1           | .1%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 3     | .2%   | 4         | .3%    |
|       | Spear head (Bronze)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Tweezers (Bronze)            | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Zoomorphic figurine (Bronze) | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Zoomorphic figurine (Silver) | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Statuette (Ceramic)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Mini Ingot (Bronze)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1               | .1%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Cone (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Cylinder (Ceramic)           | 1         | .1%  | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Disc (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 18    | 1.3%  | 21        | 1.5%   |
|       | Perforated Disc (Ceramic)    | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Perforated Disc (Stone)      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Ground stone                 | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Point (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Rolled Sheet (Bronze)        | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 2         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 4         | .3%    |
|       | Shaft (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Sheet (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 2         | .1%    |
|       | Wire (Bronze)                | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 3         | .2%    |
|       | Other (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 2     | .1%   | 5         | .4%    |
|       | Other (Wood)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 1         | .1%    |
|       | Worked Bone                  | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0           | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 2         | .1%   | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                  | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 4         | .3%    |
| Total |                              | 1         | .1%  | 438   | 30.8% | 8           | .6%  | 19              | 1.3% | 18          | 1.3% | 471       | 33.1% | 1                  | .1%  | 17                 | 1.2% | 22                       | 1.5% | 428   | 30.1% | 1423      | 100.0% |



Graph 7- The finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 4

In the cella, the most common find were large jars (137 examples), as well as 128 other jars, 62 bowls, and 81 cooking pots. There were also 12 jugs, 2 piriform jars, a lamp, and a miniature bowl. The other objects include a shell bead, 2 ceramic discs, a piece of worked bone, a silver quadruped figurine (possibly equid), a bronze zoomorphic figurine (unidentified quadruped) on a shaft, and a ceramic cone of unknown function but possibly a lid. There were also a number of bronze fragments including a shaft, a piece of wire, 2 pieces of a rolled up sheet and 2 other unidentified fragments. The faunal assemblage from the cella was made up from 867 sheep/goat bones, 57 cattle bones, 16 pig bones, 6 fish bones, 2 dove bones, a dog bone, and 3 other bones. There were 35 cereal, 17 fig, 12 legume, 1 grape, and 17 wild flower seeds amongst the various floor contexts. There was a stepped altar in this phase as in the earlier phase, which had 4 jars, a piriform jar, a bowl, and a bronze blade on it. There were also 23 sheep/goat bones on the altar. A jar set into the altar contained a miniature oxhide ingot and 18 carnelian beads, which was likely a single item whose string does not survive. It also contained a single sheep/goat bone, which is likely an intrusion from the altar itself. The bench around the cella wall had a number of sherds including 7 large jars, 7 jars, 3 bowls, and 1 small jar. There were also 42 sheep/goat bones, 8 cattle bones, and 3 bird bones (including one dove).

**Table 14- The Fauna from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 4**

|         |            | Context            |     |           |      |                          |     |                |     |             |     |                 |     |           |     |       |     |               |     | TOT |     |            |     |
|---------|------------|--------------------|-----|-----------|------|--------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|-------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------|-----|-------|-----|---------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|-----|
|         |            | Courtyard Posthole |     | Courtyard |      | Courtyard Standing Stone |     | Courtyard wall |     | Cella Bench |     | Cella Container |     | Cella Pit |     | Cella |     | Cella unknown |     |     |     | Cella wall |     |
|         |            | No.                | %   | No.       | %    | No.                      | %   | No.            | %   | No.         | %   | No.             | %   | No.       | %   | No.   | %   | No.           | %   | No. | %   | No.        | %   |
| Species | Bos        | 6                  | 12  | 225       | 14.6 | 0                        | 0   | 13             | 45  | 8           | 11  | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 56    | 6   | 0             | 0   | 1   | 100 | 309        | 12  |
|         | Ovis/Capra | 43                 | 84  | 1145      | 74.4 | 0                        | 0   | 14             | 48  | 65          | 86  | 1               | 100 | 9         | 100 | 857   | 91  | 1             | 100 | 0   | 0   | 2135       | 81  |
|         | Sus        | 2                  | 3.9 | 162       | 10.5 | 0                        | 0   | 1              | 3.4 | 0           | 0   | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 16    | 1.7 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 181        | 6.8 |
|         | Fish       | 0                  | 0   | 2         | 0.1  | 1                        | 100 | 1              | 3.4 | 0           | 0   | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 6     | 0.6 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 10         | 0.4 |
|         | Columba    | 0                  | 0   | 0         | 0    | 0                        | 0   | 0              | 0   | 1           | 1.3 | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 2     | 0.2 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3          | 0.1 |
|         | Bird       | 0                  | 0   | 1         | 0.07 | 0                        | 0   | 0              | 0   | 2           | 2.6 | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 2     | 0.2 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 5          | 0.2 |
|         | S.Mammal   | 0                  | 0   | 2         | 0.1  | 0                        | 0   | 0              | 0   | 0           | 0   | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 1     | 0.1 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 3          | 0.1 |
|         | Canis      | 0                  | 0   | 1         | 0.07 | 0                        | 0   | 0              | 0   | 0           | 0   | 0               | 0   | 0         | 0   | 1     | 0.1 | 0             | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2          | 0.1 |
|         | Total      | 51                 | 100 | 1538      | 100  | 1                        | 100 | 29             | 100 | 76          | 100 | 1               | 100 | 9         | 100 | 941   | 100 | 1             | 100 | 1   | 100 | 2648       | 100 |

**Table 15- Botanical Remains from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 4**

|         |             | Context   |           |       | Total |
|---------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
|         |             | Sidecourt | Forecourt | Cella |       |
| Species | Cereal      | 6         | 32        | 35    | 73    |
|         | Legume      | 13        | 61        | 12    | 86    |
|         | Ficus       | 2         | 3         | 17    | 22    |
|         | Vitis       | 0         | 0         | 1     | 1     |
|         | Olea        | 0         | 2         | 0     | 2     |
|         | Wild Flower | 3         | 315       | 17    | 335   |
|         | Total       | 24        | 413       | 82    | 519   |

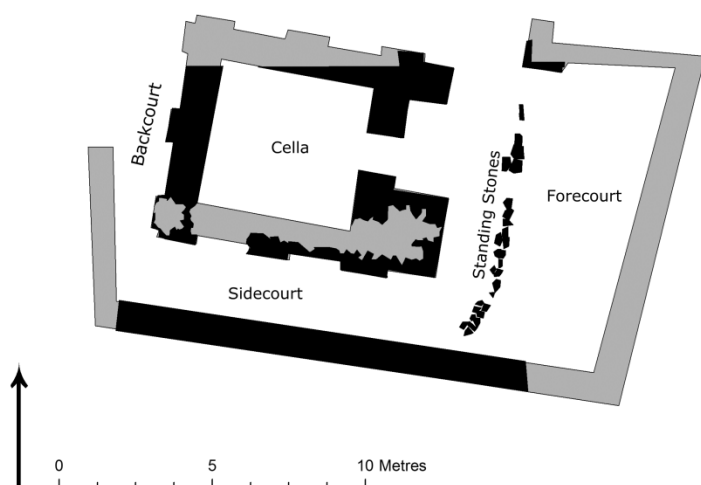


The forecourt assemblage was mainly made up of large jars (145 examples), cooking pots (133 examples), medium jars (96 examples), and bowls (63 examples). There were also 16 jugs, 3 small jars, 2 lamps, 2 ceramic discs (one of which was perforated), a miniature bowl, a piriform jar, 2 pieces of worked bone and a bronze spearhead. A number of other bronze fragments were also found including a point, 3 pieces of sheet (2 rolled up), a piece of wire, and another unidentified fragment of bronze. The animal bones in the forecourt consisted of 787 sheep/goat, 139 cattle, 47 pig, 2 fish, 1 dog, and 1 other mammal. There were also 32 cereal, 3 fig, 61 legume, 315, wild flower and 2 olive seeds across the forecourt floors. An ash lens in the forecourt contained only 2 sherds, one of a medium jar and another unidentified body sherd. A posthole in the forecourt produced sherds belonging to 8 large jars, 3 medium jar sherds, 3 cooking pots, 1 bowl, and 2 miniature bowls as well as 21 unidentified body sherds. It also contained 43 sheep/goat bones, 6 cattle bones, and 2 pig bones. A number of sherds were also found around the standing stones in the forecourt of this phase. These belonged to 12 large jars, 3 medium jars, 5 cooking pots, a small jar, and a bowl as well as 7 unidentified body sherds. A single fish bone was also found associated with the standing stone. The backcourt in this phase contained only a ceramic cylinder as well as 28 sheep/goat bones, 15 cattle bones, and 6 pig bones.

Finally, the side court, as with the other areas produced mainly large jars (108 examples), cooking pots (101 examples), medium jars (95 examples), and bowls (61 examples) as well as 211 unidentified body sherds. There were also 11 jugs, 4 kernoi fragments, 2 lamps, 4 piriform jars, 3 small jars, 2 dipper juglets, a cylindrical juglet, 2 miniature bowls, 2 crucible fragments, a tray, and a tabun fragment. There were also 18 ceramic discs, 3 bronze blades, a bronze arrow head, 1 pieces of worked stone, a piece of wood, a perforated stone disc (possibly a spindle whorl), a ceramic arm from a statuette, a piece of worked bone, 1 pair of bronze tweezers, a piece of bronze sheet, and 2 unidentified bronze fragments. The faunal assemblage in the side court consisted of 344 sheep/goat bones, 110, pig bones, 84 cattle bones, 1 fish, and 2 other bones. The high proportion of pig bones here may be significant. There were also 6 cereal, 2 fig, 1 legume, and 3 wild flower seeds.

### *Phase 3*

The Phase 3 temple followed basically the same plan as the earlier buildings although it was slightly larger and now featured a tower in place of the southeast anta. The temple complex contained a total of 1433 objects, including 641 unidentified sherds. The majority of the finds were again from the courtyards (998 in total, including 438 unidentified sherds, which is 70% of the total assemblage). In this phase, there also seems to be more activity focused on the forecourt (where 908 objects were recovered, 91% of the courtyard assemblage), while the number of finds in the side court is relatively low (88 finds). This difference, although present in Phase 4, is much more marked in Phase 3.



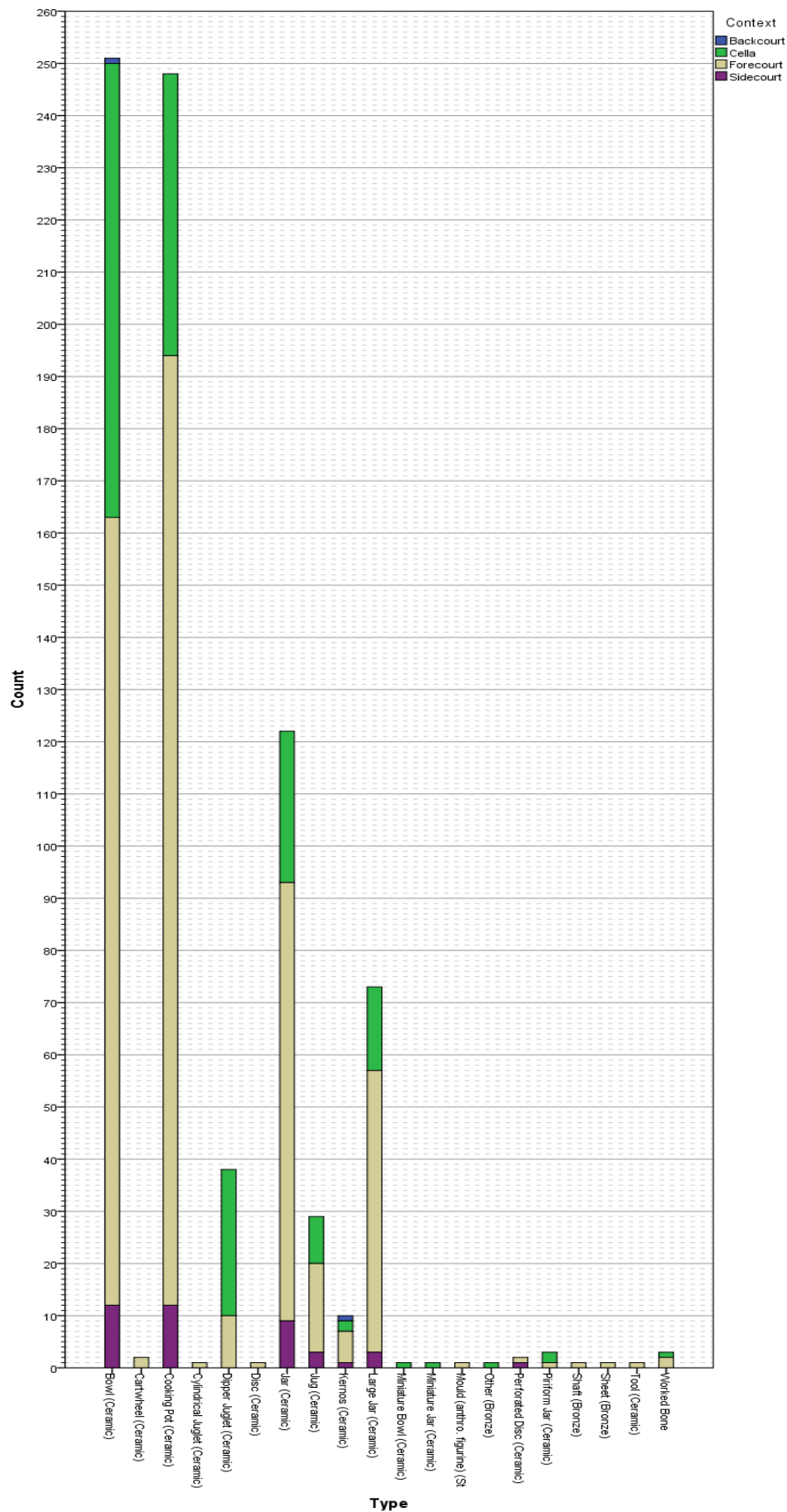
**Figure 53-** The Phase 3 temple at Tell el-Hayyat

The majority of items from the cella were bowls (87 examples), cooking pots (54 examples), medium jars (29 examples), dipper juglets (28 examples), large jars (16 examples), and jugs (9 examples). There were also 2 kernos fragments, 2 piriform jars, a miniature bowl, a miniature jar, a piece of worked bone, a tabun fragment and an unidentifiable piece of bronze. There is no surviving altar or bench in this phase. The faunal assemblage consisted of 462 sheep/goat bones, 20 cattle, 8 pig, 1 fish, and 1 rodent. There were also 24 cereal, 7 fig, 7 legume, 2 grape, and 14 wild flower seeds. Some ashy debris on the cella floor contained a single unburnt cow bone and 3 seeds (1 each of cereal, fig, and wild flower).

The forecourt area produced mainly cooking pots (182 examples), bowls (151 examples), medium jars (84 examples), large jars (54 examples), and jugs (17 examples). The lower proportion of large jars in this phase may be significant. There are also 10 dipper juglets, a cylindrical juglet, 6 kernos fragments, a piriform jar, 2 cartwheels, 2 ceramic discs (1 perforated), a ceramic tool, 2 pieces of worked bone, a tabun fragment, a piece of bronze sheet, a fragment of a bronze shaft and a stone mould for an anthropomorphic figurine. There were also 690 sheep/goat bones, 60 pig bones, 54 cattle bones, 2 fish, 1 dog, and 1 bird bone. 4 sheep/goat bones were found associated with the standing stones, although they should perhaps be considered part of the larger forecourt assemblage. A large number of seeds were found in this phase of the forecourt consisting of 119 cereal, 616 fig, 160 legume, 4 grape, and 131 wild flower. The side court contained 12 bowls, 12 cooking pots, 9 jars, 3 jugs, 3 large jars, a perforated ceramic disc, and a kernos fragment. There were also 114 sheep/goat bones, 26 pig bones, 14 cattle bones, a dove bone, and a single cereal seed. The backcourt contained only 2 items, a bowl and a kernos fragment as well as 53 sheep/goat bones, 7 pig bones, and 2 cattle bones.

**Table 16- The finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 3**

|       |                              | Context   |      |       |       |           |       |           |      | Total |        |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|------|-------|--------|
|       |                              | Backcourt |      | Cella |       | Forecourt |       | Sidecourt |      |       |        |
|       |                              | No.       | %    | No.   | %     | No.       | %     | No.       | %    | No.   | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)               | 1         | .1%  | 87    | 11.0% | 151       | 19.1% | 12        | 1.5% | 251   | 31.8%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)        | 0         | 0.0% | 54    | 6.8%  | 182       | 23.0% | 12        | 1.5% | 248   | 31.4%  |
|       | Cylindrical Juglet (Ceramic) | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)      | 0         | 0.0% | 28    | 3.5%  | 10        | 1.3%  | 0         | 0.0% | 38    | 4.8%   |
|       | Jar (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 29    | 3.7%  | 84        | 10.6% | 9         | 1.1% | 122   | 15.4%  |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 9     | 1.1%  | 17        | 2.2%  | 3         | .4%  | 29    | 3.7%   |
|       | Kernos (Ceramic)             | 1         | .1%  | 2     | .3%   | 6         | .8%   | 1         | .1%  | 10    | 1.3%   |
|       | Large Jar (Ceramic)          | 0         | 0.0% | 16    | 2.0%  | 54        | 6.8%  | 3         | .4%  | 73    | 9.2%   |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0         | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Miniature Jar (Ceramic)      | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0         | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Piriform Jar (Ceramic)       | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .3%   | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | .4%    |
|       | Cartwheel (Ceramic)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 2         | .3%   | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .3%    |
|       | Disc (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Perforated Disc (Ceramic)    | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 1         | .1%  | 2     | .3%    |
|       | Mould (anthro. figurine) (St | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Other (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 0         | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Shaft (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Sheet (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Tool (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1         | .1%   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%    |
|       | Worked Bone                  | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .1%   | 2         | .3%   | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | .4%    |
| Total |                              | 2         | .3%  | 231   | 29.2% | 516       | 65.3% | 41        | 5.2% | 790   | 100.0% |



Graph 8- The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 3

**Table 18- The Fauna from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 3**

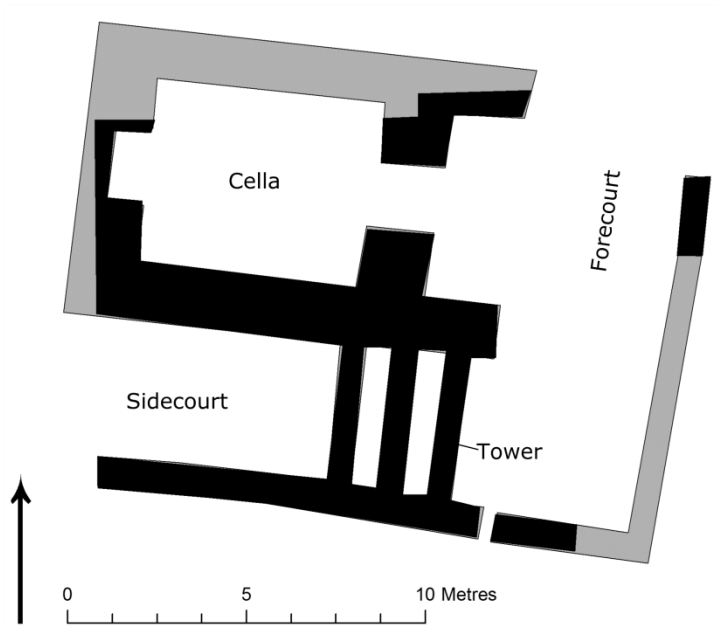
|         |            | Context   |      |                          |     |                    |      |                |      |                |      |       |      |                     |     | TOTAL |      |
|---------|------------|-----------|------|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|-------|------|---------------------|-----|-------|------|
|         |            | Courtyard |      | Courtyard Standing Stone |     | Courtyard Test Pit |      | Courtyard Wall |      | Cella Posthole |      | Cella |      | Cella Tabun/ hearth |     |       |      |
|         |            | No.       | %    | No.                      | %   | No.                | %    | No.            | %    | No.            | %    | No.   | %    | No.                 | %   | No.   | %    |
| Species | Bos        | 68        | 6.9  | 0                        | 0   | 2                  | 8.3  | 0              | 0    | 0              | 0    | 20    | 4.1  | 1                   | 100 | 91    | 4.3  |
|         | Ovis/Capra | 827       | 83.5 | 4                        | 100 | 21                 | 87.5 | 9              | 81.8 | 2              | 66.7 | 462   | 93.9 | 0                   | 0   | 1325  | 62.4 |
|         | Sus        | 90        | 9.1  | 0                        | 0   | 1                  | 4.2  | 2              | 18.2 | 0              | 0    | 8     | 1.6  | 0                   | 0   | 101   | 4.8  |
|         | Fish       | 2         | 0.2  | 0                        | 0   | 0                  | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0              | 0    | 1     | 0.2  | 0                   | 0   | 3     | 0.1  |
|         | Columba    | 1         | 0.1  | 0                        | 0   | 0                  | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 1     | 0.05 |
|         | Bird       | 1         | 0.1  | 0                        | 0   | 0                  | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 1     | 0.05 |
|         | S.Mammal   | 0         | 0    | 0                        | 0   | 0                  | 0    | 0              | 0    | 1              | 33.3 | 1     | 0.2  | 0                   | 0   | 2     | 0.1  |
|         | Canis      | 1         | 0.1  | 0                        | 0   | 0                  | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0              | 0    | 0     | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 1     | 0.05 |
|         | Total      | 990       | 100  | 4                        | 100 | 24                 | 100  | 11             | 100  | 3              | 100  | 492   | 100  | 1                   | 100 | 2125  | 100  |

**Table 17- Botanical Remains from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 3**

|         |             | Context |             |           |           | Total |
|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
|         |             | Cella   | Cella Ash D | Sidecourt | Forecourt |       |
| Species | Cereal      | 24      | 1           | 1         | 119       | 145   |
|         | Legume      | 7       | 0           | 0         | 160       | 167   |
|         | Ficus       | 7       | 1           | 0         | 616       | 624   |
|         | Vitis       | 2       | 0           | 0         | 4         | 6     |
|         | Wild Flower | 14      | 1           | 0         | 131       | 146   |
|         | Total       | 54      | 3           | 1         | 1030      | 1088  |

## Phase 2

The final phase of the temple is the largest but also has produced the fewest finds. Only 411 items were recovered from this phase, including 232 unidentified sherds. The majority of the finds are again the in the courtyard (313 items, including 158 unidentified sherds, 76% of the total assemblage). In this phase, there are interestingly more finds in the side court area than there are in the forecourt; 64% of the courtyard finds were found in the side court.

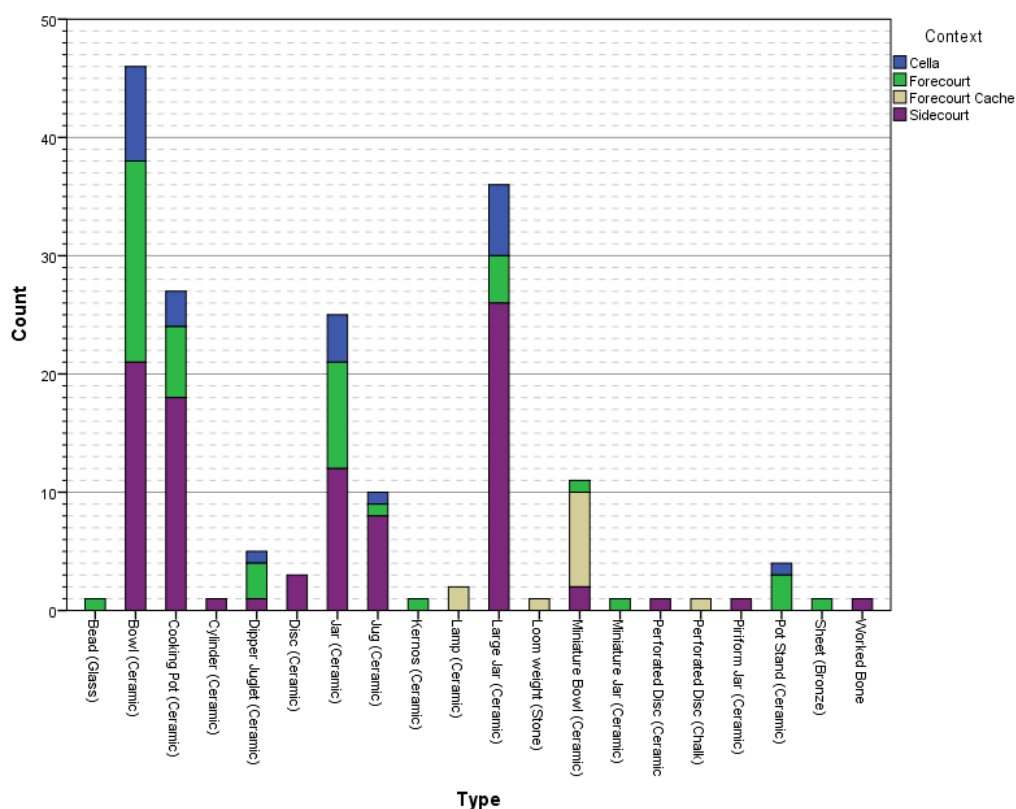


**Figure 54- Tell el-Hayyat, Phase 2 Temple**

In the cella, there were 8 bowls, 6 large jars, 4 medium jars, 3 cooking pots, a dipper juglet, a jug, and a pot stand. There are also 31 sheep/goat bones, 2 cattle, 3 pig, and 1 fish bone. Only 8 seeds were recovered, belonging to cereal plants (7) and one wild flower. The forecourt contained 17 bowls, 9 medium jars, 6 cooking pots, 4 large jars, 3 dipper juglets, 3 pot stands, a jug, a kernos fragment, a miniature jar, a glass bead, and a piece of bronze sheet. The bone assemblage in the forecourt consisted of 225 sheep/goat, 11 cattle, and 9 pig. There were also 3 cereal, 13 fig, 55 legume, and 1239 wild flower seeds. A cache beneath a floor contained 8 miniature bowls, 2 lamps, a perforated stone disc and a stone loom weight as well as 9 sheep/goat bones and 1 pig bone. The side court contained 26 large jars, 21 bowls, 18 cooking pots, 12 medium jars, 8 jugs, 2 miniature bowls, a piriform jar, 4 ceramic discs (1 perforated), a ceramic cylinder, and a piece of worked bone. The animal bones consisted of 283 sheep/goat, 52 pig, 35 cattle, and 1 bird. There were also 33 cereal, 22 fig, 11 legume, 1 olive, and 118 wild flower seeds recovered.

**Table 19- The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 2**

|       |                          | Context |       |           |       |                 |      |           |       | Total |        |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|------|-----------|-------|-------|--------|
|       |                          | Cella   |       | Forecourt |       | Forecourt Cache |      | Sidecourt |       |       |        |
|       |                          | No.     | %     | No.       | %     | No.             | %    | No.       | %     | No.   | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)           | 8       | 4.5%  | 17        | 9.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 21        | 11.7% | 46    | 25.7%  |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)    | 3       | 1.7%  | 6         | 3.4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 18        | 10.1% | 27    | 15.1%  |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)  | 1       | .6%   | 3         | 1.7%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .6%   | 5     | 2.8%   |
|       | Jar (Ceramic)            | 4       | 2.2%  | 9         | 5.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 12        | 6.7%  | 25    | 14.0%  |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)            | 1       | .6%   | 1         | .6%   | 0               | 0.0% | 8         | 4.5%  | 10    | 5.6%   |
|       | Kernos (Ceramic)         | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1% | 0         | 0.0%  | 2     | 1.1%   |
|       | Large Jar (Ceramic)      | 6       | 3.4%  | 4         | 2.2%  | 0               | 0.0% | 26        | 14.5% | 36    | 20.1%  |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic) | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 8               | 4.5% | 2         | 1.1%  | 11    | 6.1%   |
|       | Miniature Jar (Ceramic)  | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Piriform Jar (Ceramic)   | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Pot Stand (Ceramic)      | 1       | .6%   | 3         | 1.7%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 4     | 2.2%   |
|       | Bead (Glass)             | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Cylinder (Ceramic)       | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Disc (Ceramic)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 3         | 1.7%  | 3     | 1.7%   |
|       | Perforated Disc (Ceramic | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Perforated Disc (Chalk)  | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 1               | .6%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Loom weight (Stone)      | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 1               | .6%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Sheet (Bronze)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .6%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 1     | .6%    |
|       | Worked Bone              | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .6%   | 1     | .6%    |
| Total |                          | 24      | 13.4% | 48        | 26.8% | 12              | 6.7% | 95        | 53.1% | 179   | 100.0% |



**Graph 9- The Finds from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 2**

**Table 20- The Fauna from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 2**

|         |            | Context                    |      |               |     |           |      |                |      |          |      |               |     | TOTAL |      |
|---------|------------|----------------------------|------|---------------|-----|-----------|------|----------------|------|----------|------|---------------|-----|-------|------|
|         |            | Courtyard Deposit (delib.) |      | Courtyard Pit |     | Courtyard |      | Courtyard wall |      | Interior |      | Interior wall |     |       |      |
|         |            | No.                        | %    | No.           | %   | No.       | %    | No.            | %    | No.      | %    | No.           | %   | No.   | %    |
| Species | Bos        | 0                          | 0.0  | 0             | 0.0 | 39        | 6.9  | 7              | 15.2 | 1        | 2.8  | 1             | 100 | 48    | 7.3  |
|         | Ovis/Capra | 7                          | 87.5 | 4             | 100 | 469       | 82.7 | 36             | 78.3 | 31       | 86.1 | 0             | 0.0 | 547   | 82.6 |
|         | Sus        | 1                          | 12.5 | 0             | 0.0 | 58        | 10.2 | 3              | 6.5  | 3        | 8.3  | 0             | 0.0 | 65    | 9.8  |
|         | Fish       | 0                          | 0.0  | 0             | 0.0 | 0         | 0.0  | 0              | 0.0  | 1        | 2.8  | 0             | 0.0 | 1     | 0.2  |
|         | Bird       | 0                          | 0.0  | 0             | 0.0 | 1         | 0.2  | 0              | 0.0  | 0        | 0.0  | 0             | 0.0 | 1     | 0.2  |
|         | Total      | 8                          | 100  | 4             | 100 | 567       | 100  | 46             | 100  | 36       | 100  | 1             | 100 | 662   | 100  |

**Table 21- Botanical Remains from Tell el-Hayyat Phase 2**

|         |             | Context |           |           | Total |
|---------|-------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-------|
|         |             | Cella   | Sidecourt | Forecourt |       |
| Species | Cereal      | 7       | 33        | 3         | 43    |
|         | Legume      | 0       | 11        | 55        | 66    |
|         | Ficus       | 0       | 22        | 13        | 35    |
|         | Olea        | 0       | 1         | 0         | 1     |
|         | Wild Flower | 1       | 118       | 1239      | 1358  |
|         | Total       | 8       | 185       | 1310      | 1503  |

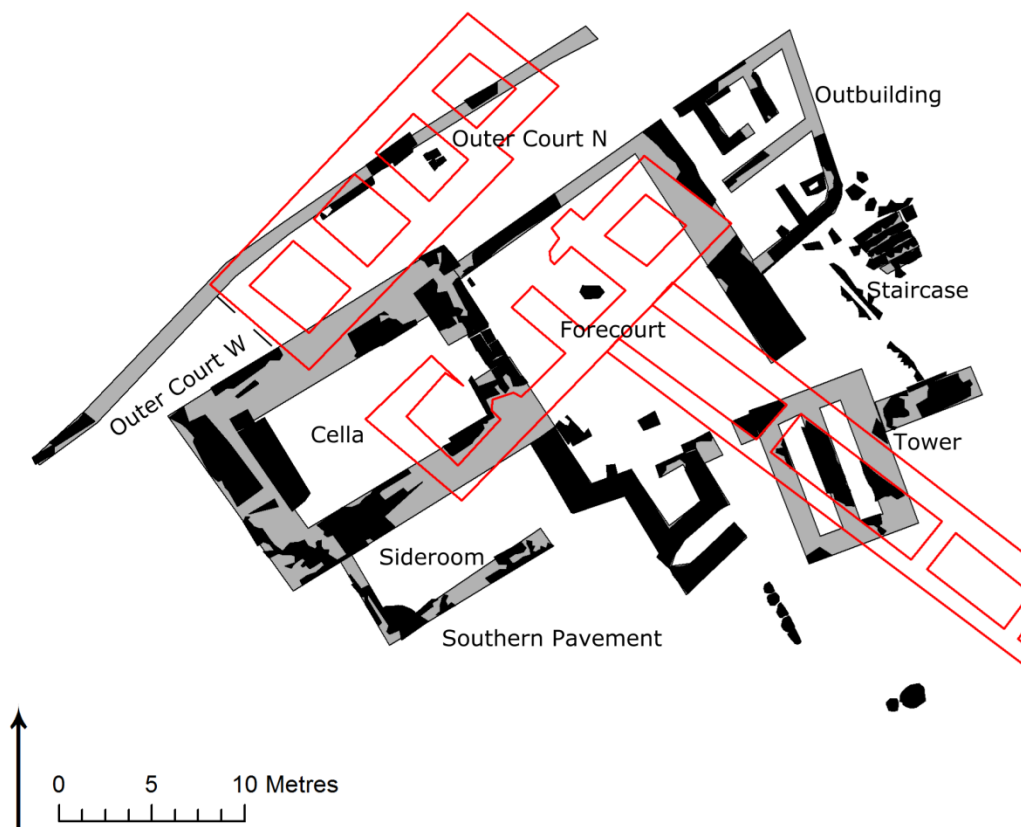
## Hazor

The nature of the Hazor excavation reports means that not all objects were published, only diagnostic sherds and objects deemed to be of particular interest were published. The published items are presented here however as it is hoped that they can still provide information on the use of space within the temple.

### *Area A-Long Temple*

The long temple of Hazor A is only partially excavated because of the presence of the later gate and wall, which is still in situ directly above the temple complex. This particularly affects the forecourt, which is almost entirely covered by the gate and disturbed by its foundation trench.





**Figure 55- The Long Temple at Hazor Area A**

The cella contained the most finds (50% of the published assemblage), although the limited preservation of the forecourt may have skewed the results. The cella is divided into four areas in keeping with the four excavated floor contexts, East (near the doorway), West near the bench on the rear wall), South (along the southern wall), and Middle. These contexts are separated by the poor preservation of the temple but should probably be considered part of one larger context. The eastern cella contained 11 bowls, 4 cooking pots, 3 cult stands, a chalice, a jug, and a krater. The western cella contained 16 bowls, 5 cooking pots, 3 jugs, a goblet, a krater, a large jar, a miniature bowl, a cult stand, a ceramic tray, a pithos, a silver crescent, and a bronze female figurine. These finds were immediately in front of the rear bench but no finds were reported as being found on the bench itself. The southern cella contained 10 bowls, 6 miniature bowls, 3 jugs, 3 juglets (1 made from alabaster), a krater, a large jar, a pithos, and 2 cult stands. Some of these were found as the wall itself was excavated but it seems that these were intrusions from the cella. The middle of the cella contained 16 bowls, 9 cult stands, a ceramic basin, a cooking pot, and a jug. Along the southern wall of the temple is another room, classed here as a side room. Its orientation and

Table 22- The Finds from the Long Temple, Hazor A

|       |  | Context |       |           |      |           |       |                |       |                  |      |                  |      |               |      |               |      |               |      |               |      |                 |      |                 |       | Total |      |                     |      |              |      |               |      |          |      |                   |        |
|-------|--|---------|-------|-----------|------|-----------|-------|----------------|-------|------------------|------|------------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|-------|-------|------|---------------------|------|--------------|------|---------------|------|----------|------|-------------------|--------|
|       |  | Cella   |       | Cella (E) |      | Cella (W) |       | Cella Wall (S) |       | Courtyard Stairs |      | Eastern Building |      | Forecourt (E) |      | Forecourt (N) |      | Forecourt (S) |      | Forecourt (W) |      | Outer Court (N) |      | Outer Court (W) |       |       |      | Outer Court (W) Pit |      | Pavement (S) |      | Pavement (SE) |      | Sideroom |      | Sideroom platform |        |
|       |  | No.     | %     | No.       | %    | No.       | %     | No.            | %     | No.              | %    | No.              | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.             | %    | No.             | %     |       |      | No.                 | %    | No.          | %    | No.           | %    | No.      | %    | No.               | %      |
| Type  | Basin (Ceramic)                            | 1       | .5%   | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1        | .5%  |                   |        |
|       | Bowl (Ceramic)                             | 16      | 7.5%  | 11        | 5.2% | 16        | 7.5%  | 10             | 4.7%  | 3                | 1.4% | 0                | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 2             | .9%  | 1             | .5%  | 1             | .5%  | 2               | .9%  | 11              | 5.2%  | 4     | 1.9% | 7                   | 3.3% | 0            | 0.0% | 6             | 2.8% | 0        | 0.0% | 91                | 42.7%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)                          | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .5%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1               | .5%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 1                   | .5%  | 1            | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 5                 | 2.3%   |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)                      | 1       | .5%   | 4         | 1.9% | 5         | 2.3%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 1                | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 2               | .9%   | 2     | .9%  | 1                   | .5%  | 0            | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0        | 0.0% | 18                | 8.5%   |
|       | Flask (Ceramic)                            | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2        | .9%  |                   |        |
|       | Goblet (Ceramic)                           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2        | .9%  |                   |        |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                              | 1       | .5%   | 1         | .5%  | 3         | 1.4%  | 3              | 1.4%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 2               | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 3                   | 1.4% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 14       | 6.6% |                   |        |
|       | Juglet (Ceramic)                           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 2              | .9%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 1                   | .5%  | 0            | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 5        | 2.3% |                   |        |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)                           | 0       | 0.0%  | 1         | .5%  | 1         | .5%   | 1              | .5%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 6               | 2.8%  | 1     | .5%  | 4                   | 1.9% | 0            | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0        | 0.0% | 15                | 7.0%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)                             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1               | .5%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1        | .5%  |                   |        |
|       | Large Jar (Ceramic)                        | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 1              | .5%   | 2                | .9%  | 2                | .9%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 4               | 1.9%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1        | .5%  | 12                | 5.6%   |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)                   | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 6              | 2.8%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1               | .5%  | 2               | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1        | .5%  | 12                | 5.6%   |
|       | Pithos (Ceramic)                           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 1              | .5%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 2                 | .9%    |
|       | Stand (Ceramic)                            | 9       | 4.2%  | 3         | 1.4% | 1         | .5%   | 2              | .9%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 1                   | .5%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 17                | 8.0%   |
|       | Tray (Ceramic)                             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Juglet (Alabaster)                         | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 1              | .5%   | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Stopper (Alabaster)                        | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Spool (Ceramic)                            | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Bead (Faience)                             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Pendant (Quatrefoil) (Gold)                | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Crescent (Bronze)                          | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 2             | .9%  | 0        | 0.0% | 2                 | .9%    |
|       | Crescent (Silver)                          | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Anthropomorphic Figurine (Female) (Bronze) | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1         | .5%   | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Lioness Statue (Head) (Stone)              | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Statuette (Basalt)                         | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1               | .5%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Mould (anthro fig) (Ceramic)               | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Mould (Jewellery/figurines) (Stone)        | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Pivot (Basalt)                             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
|       | Trough (Stone)                             | 0       | 0.0%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0              | 0.0%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0            | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0        | 0.0% | 1                 | .5%    |
| Total |  | 28      | 13.1% | 21        | 9.9% | 33        | 15.5% | 27             | 12.7% | 12               | 5.6% | 3                | 1.4% | 3             | 1.4% | 6             | 2.8% | 2             | .9%  | 2             | .9%  | 6               | 2.8% | 31              | 14.6% | 7     | 3.3% | 18                  | 8.5% | 1            | .5%  | 10            | 4.7% | 3        | 1.4% | 213               | 100.0% |



floor level suggests that it is part of the temple complex (Ben-Tor et al 1997: 57). The floor of the side room produced 6 bowls, a cooking pot, a krater, and 2 bronze crescents. In the southwest corner of the room a small platform was uncovered on which were found a juglet, a large jar and a miniature vessel.

The forecourt is also divided according to compass points in keeping with the areas that were excavated around the later gate. The western forecourt (directly in front of the temple building) was excavated inside one of the gate chambers and contained only a bowl and a large jar. The northern forecourt extends from the front of the temple building to the eastern forecourt wall. This contained 2 bowls, a flask, a miniature bowls, a cult stand, a gold quatrefoil pendant, and a body sherd with an applied animal figure. The eastern forecourt (a small area adjacent to the eastern forecourt wall contained a bowl and a stone trough. The southern forecourt, extending almost the entire length of the southern forecourt wall contained a bowl and a flask.

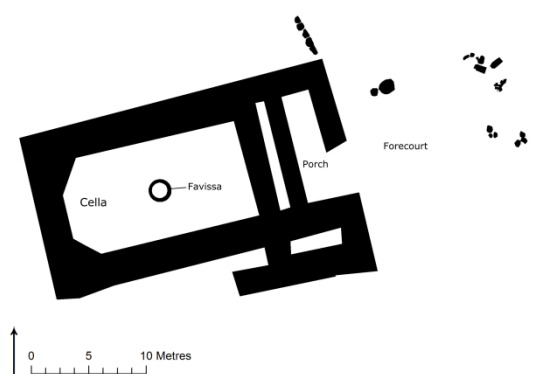
A small building adjacent to the outside of the eastern forecourt wall, and believed to be the location of the manufacture of temple objects (Ben-Tor et al 1997: 74), contained a cooking pot, 2 large jars and a body sherd with a potter's mark incised on it. The area between this building and the courtyard stairs contained 3 bowls, a cooking pot, 2 large jars, an alabaster stopper, a stone mould for jewellery, a ceramic mould for an anthropomorphic figurine and the head of a lioness statue.

The outer court of the temple has been excavated along the northern edge of the temple building and forecourt. It is bounded by a wall running roughly parallel to the northern walls of the temple and forecourt. The excavators believed that it was the location for some ritual activity during the temple's life (Ben-Tor et al 1997: 74). It is divided into two areas, north and west, following the excavation reports. The northern outer court comprises the areas excavated within the chambers of the later gate. Few objects were found here but these were 2 bowls, a chalice and a basalt statuette, which is unfortunately mentioned but not pictured so we do not know what it depicts. The western outer court is an area excavated between the north west corner of the temple building and the western edge of the later gate. It is a floor that was cut by a pit. It is possible that because of the disturbance here, some of the finds postdate the temple but they are included in attempt to present a more complete picture. The floor produced 11 bowls, 6 kraters, 4 large jars, 2 cooking pots, 2 miniature bowls, 2 jugs, a

juglet, a goblet, a ceramic “spool”, a faience bead, and a ceramic object (possibly a sherd or possibly part of a figurine). The pit cutting this floor contained 4 bowls, 2 cooking pots, and a krater. South of the side room, between its southern wall and the northern wall of the White Temple is a pavement, excavated in two areas, south (along the southern wall of the side room) and southeast (along the southern wall of the “reservoir”). The southern pavement produced 7 bowls, 4 kraters, 3 jugs, a chalice, a cooking pot, a cult stand, a juglet, and 2 painted body sherds. The only find from the southeast pavement was a chalice with its foot missing.

### *White Temple*

The white temple is very poorly published. Part of the forecourt and porch were excavated as building 389 in the old excavations and published by Yadin (1972; 1989). The renewed excavations have uncovered the whole building but there has been no publication of the finds as yet except for a single photograph of the favissa assemblage (Ben-Tor 2008: fig 3), the items on which have been included in the present analysis.

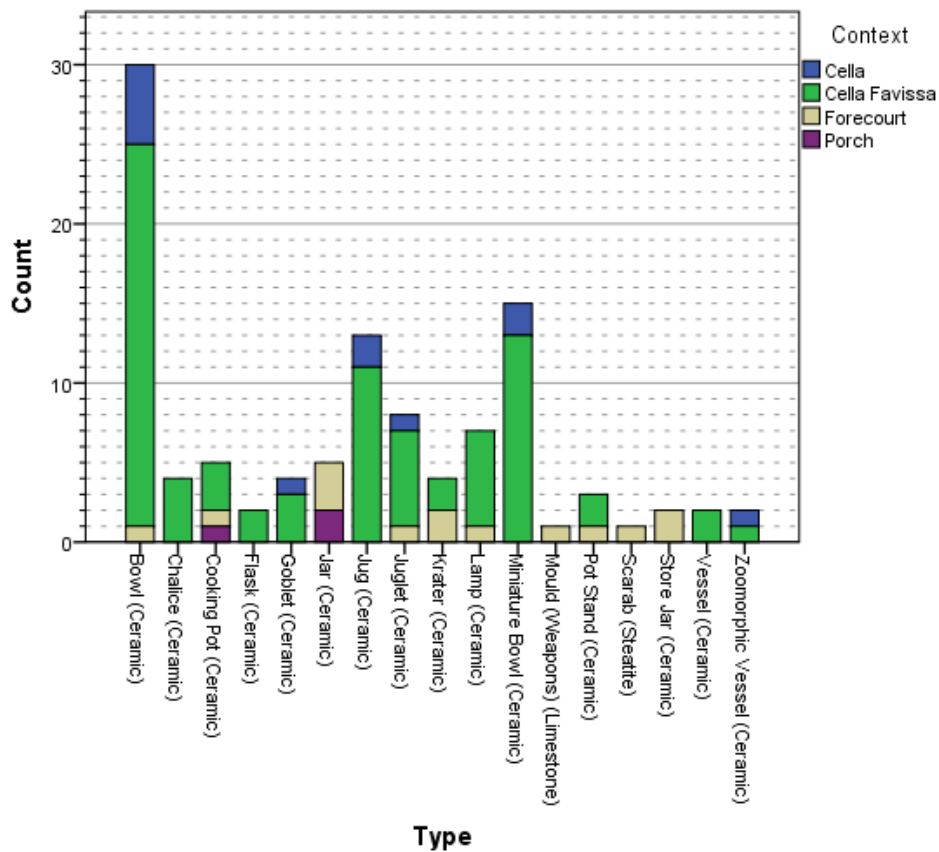


**Figure 56- The White Temple, Hazor A**

The finds from the cella derive from two contexts, the northeast corner of the cella floor (excavated by Yadin), and the favissa (excavated in the renewed excavations). The cella finds are 5 bowls, 2 jugs, 2 miniature bowls, a juglet, a goblet, and a part of a zoomorphic vessel with the head of an unidentified animal. The favissa contained 24 bowls, 13 miniature bowls, 11 jugs, 6 juglets, 6 lamps, 4 chalices, 3 cooking pots, 2 flasks, 3 goblets, 2 kraters, 2 pot stands, and a zoomorphic vessel. There were 2 jars and a cooking pot in the small portion of the porch excavated. The forecourt contained 3 jars, 2 store jars, 2 kraters, a bowl, a cooking pot, a juglet, a lamp, a pot stand, a steatite scarab, and a limestone weapons mould.

**Table 23-The Finds from the White Temple, Hazor A**

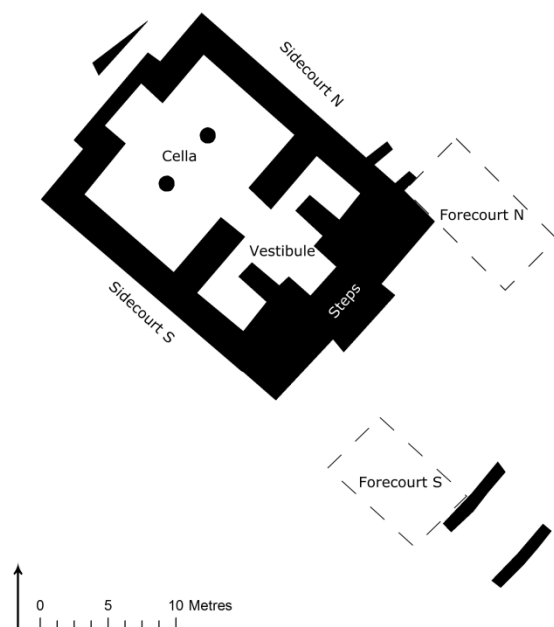
|       |                             | Context |       |               |       |           |       |       |      | Total |        |
|-------|-----------------------------|---------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|------|-------|--------|
|       |                             | Cella   |       | Cella Favissa |       | Forecourt |       | Porch |      |       |        |
|       |                             | No.     | %     | No.           | %     | No.       | %     | No.   | %    | No.   | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)              | 5       | 4.7%  | 24            | 22.6% | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 30    | 28.3%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 4             | 3.8%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 4     | 3.8%   |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)       | 0       | 0.0%  | 3             | 2.8%  | 1         | .9%   | 1     | .9%  | 5     | 4.7%   |
|       | Flask (Ceramic)             | 0       | 0.0%  | 2             | 1.9%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.9%   |
|       | Goblet (Ceramic)            | 1       | .9%   | 3             | 2.8%  | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 4     | 3.8%   |
|       | Jar (Ceramic)               | 0       | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 3         | 2.8%  | 2     | 1.9% | 5     | 4.7%   |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)               | 2       | 1.9%  | 11            | 10.4% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 13    | 12.3%  |
|       | Juglet (Ceramic)            | 1       | .9%   | 6             | 5.7%  | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 8     | 7.5%   |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)            | 0       | 0.0%  | 2             | 1.9%  | 2         | 1.9%  | 0     | 0.0% | 4     | 3.8%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)              | 0       | 0.0%  | 6             | 5.7%  | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 7     | 6.6%   |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)    | 2       | 1.9%  | 13            | 12.3% | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 15    | 14.2%  |
|       | Pot Stand (Ceramic)         | 0       | 0.0%  | 2             | 1.9%  | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 3     | 2.8%   |
|       | Store Jar (Ceramic)         | 0       | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 2         | 1.9%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.9%   |
|       | Zoomorphic Vessel (Ceramic) | 1       | .9%   | 1             | .9%   | 0         | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.9%   |
|       | Scarab (Steatite)           | 0       | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 1     | .9%    |
|       | Mould (Weapons) (Limestone) | 0       | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1         | .9%   | 0     | 0.0% | 1     | .9%    |
| Total |                             | 12      | 11.3% | 77            | 72.6% | 14        | 13.2% | 3     | 2.8% | 106   | 100.0% |



**Graph 11- The Finds from the White Temple, Hazor A**

### *Area H- Stratum 3*

The Stratum 3 temple in Area H is the most poorly known of the phases of this temple since it is damaged by the later remodelling of the temple area. Very few finds derive from the cella; only a miniature bowl, a pot stand, and a bronze tool were found. In the vestibule area (between the two towers), there were 3 bowls and a kernos fragment. On the steps immediately in front of the temple, there was a bowl, a jar, a krater and a bronze crescent.

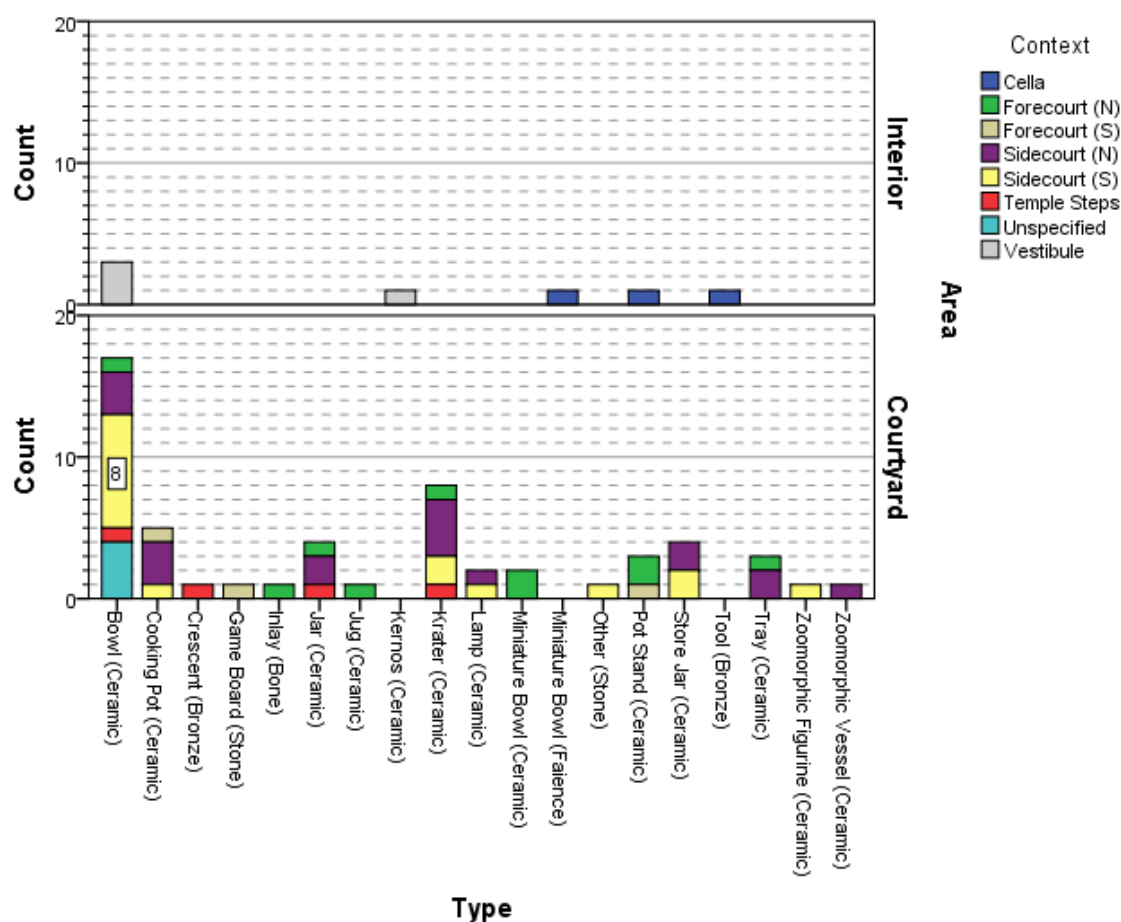


**Figure 57- Hazor Area H, Stratum 3**

The courtyards are divided into the forecourt and two side courts. The forecourt is divided into two areas following the excavation report, the northern part extends eastward from the north eastern corner of the steps, and the southern part is located in the south eastern corner of the excavation area, near the eastern courtyard wall. The northern forecourt contained a bowl, a jar, a jug, a krater, 2 miniature bowls, 2 pot stands, a ceramic tray and a piece of bone inlay. The southern courtyard contained a cooking pot, a pot stand, and a stone game board. The northern side court (along the northern wall of the temple building) contained 4 kraters, 3 bowls, 3 cooking pots, 2 store jars, 2 jars, 2 ceramic trays, a lamp, and the head of a zoomorphic vessel. The southern side court contained 8 bowls, 2 kraters, 2 store jars, a cooking pot, a lamp, the head of an animal figurine, and a sandstone object (listed as a figurine in the publication but too poorly preserved to allow identification). Another 4 bowls were found in the temple area although the context number is not mentioned in the reports so it is unclear exactly where these came from.

Table 24-The Finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 3

|               |                               | Context |      |               |       |               |      |               |       |               |       |              |      |         |      | Total |      |           |        |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---------|------|---------------|-------|---------------|------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------|------|---------|------|-------|------|-----------|--------|
|               |                               | Cella   |      | Forecourt (N) |       | Forecourt (S) |      | Sidecourt (N) |       | Sidecourt (S) |       | Temple Steps |      | Unspec. |      |       |      | Vestibule |        |
|               |                               | No.     | %    | No.           | %     | No.           | %    | No.           | %     | No.           | %     | No.          | %    | No.     | %    | No.   | %    | No.       | %      |
| Type          | Bowl (Ceramic)                | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 3             | 4.8%  | 8             | 12.9% | 1            | 1.6% | 4       | 6.5% | 3     | 4.8% | 20        | 32.3%  |
|               | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)         | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 1             | 1.6% | 3             | 4.8%  | 1             | 1.6%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 5         | 8.1%   |
|               | Jar (Ceramic)                 | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | 3.2%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1            | 1.6% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 6.5%   |
|               | Jug (Ceramic)                 | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Kernos (Ceramic)              | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 1     | 1.6% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Krater (Ceramic)              | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 4             | 6.5%  | 2             | 3.2%  | 1            | 1.6% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 8         | 12.9%  |
|               | Lamp (Ceramic)                | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 1             | 1.6%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 3.2%   |
|               | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)      | 0       | 0.0% | 2             | 3.2%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 3.2%   |
|               | Miniature Bowl (Faience)      | 1       | 1.6% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Pot Stand (Ceramic)           | 1       | 1.6% | 2             | 3.2%  | 1             | 1.6% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 6.5%   |
|               | Store Jar (Ceramic)           | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | 3.2%  | 2             | 3.2%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 6.5%   |
|               | Tray (Ceramic)                | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | 3.2%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 4.8%   |
|               | Zoomorphic Vessel (Ceramic)   | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Crescent (Bronze)             | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 1            | 1.6% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Zoomorphic Figurine (Ceramic) | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 1             | 1.6%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Game Board (Stone)            | 0       | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 1             | 1.6% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
|               | Inlay (Bone)                  | 0       | 0.0% | 1             | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0%  | 0            | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | 1.6%   |
| Tool (Bronze) | 1                             | 1.6%    | 0    | 0.0%          | 0     | 0.0%          | 0    | 0.0%          | 0     | 0.0%          | 0     | 0.0%         | 0    | 0.0%    | 0    | 0.0%  | 1    | 1.6%      |        |
| Other (Stone) | 0                             | 0.0%    | 0    | 0.0%          | 0     | 0.0%          | 0    | 0.0%          | 1     | 1.6%          | 0     | 0.0%         | 0    | 0.0%    | 0    | 0.0%  | 1    | 1.6%      |        |
| Total         |                               | 3       | 4.8% | 10            | 16.1% | 3             | 4.8% | 18            | 29.0% | 16            | 25.8% | 4            | 6.5% | 4       | 6.5% | 4     | 6.5% | 62        | 100.0% |

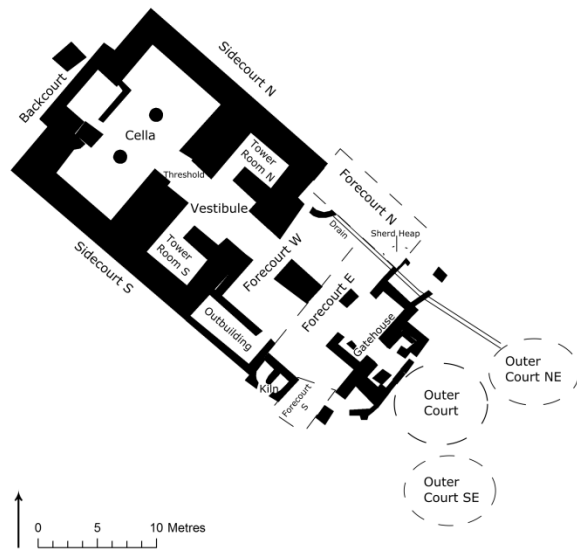


Graph 12- the finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 3



## *Area H- Stratum 2*

The Stratum 2 temple has the highest number of published finds of the four phases of the Area H temple. There were 248 published finds from the temple complex, 108 of which were found in the temple building itself. There is also an outer court in this phase, separated from the forecourt by a gatehouse.



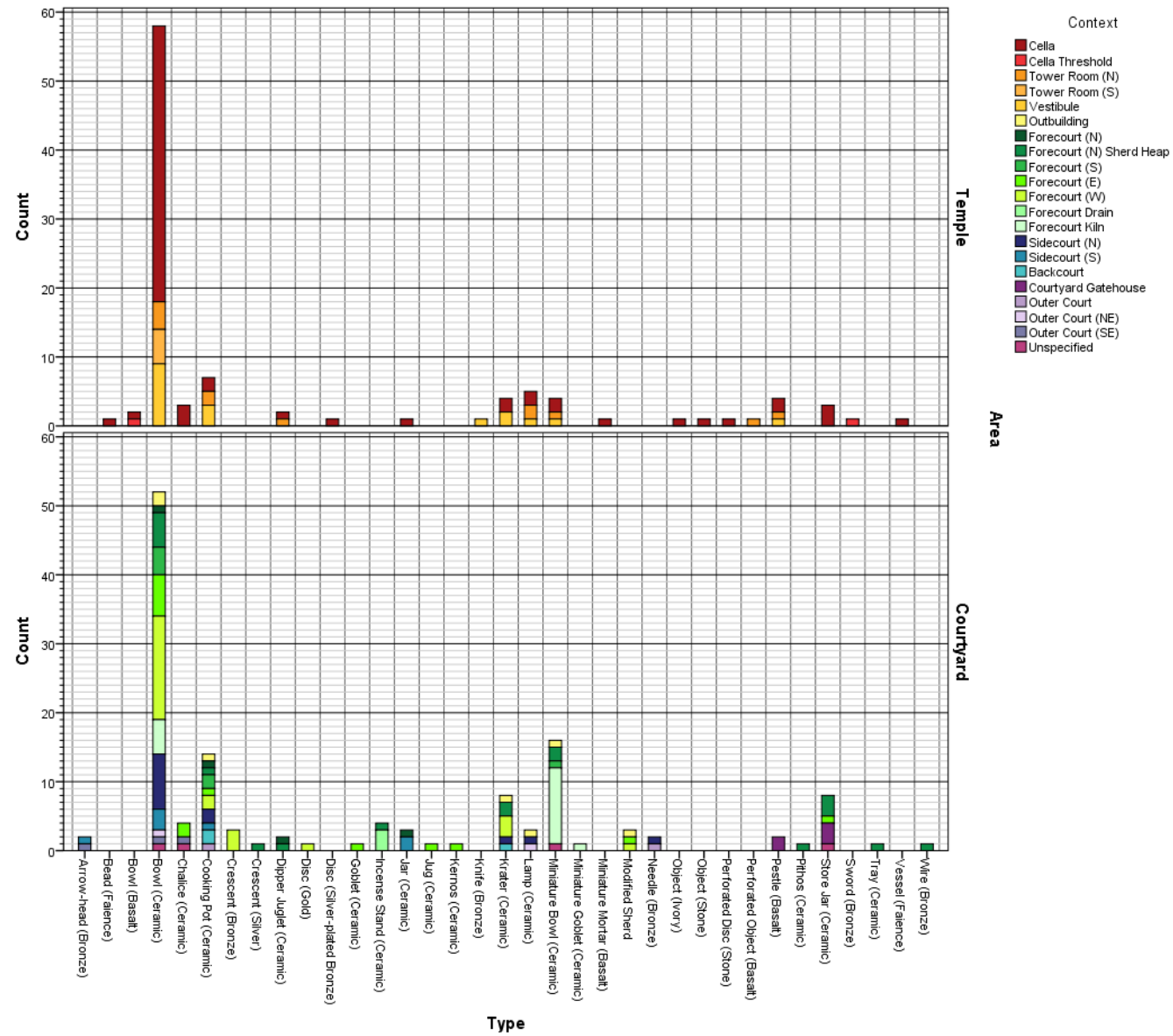
**Figure 58- Hazor Area H, Stratum 2**

The cella itself contained 40 bowls, 3 chalices, 3 store jars, 2 cooking pots, 2 kraters, 2 lamps, 2 miniature bowls, a dipper juglet, a jar, and 5 unidentified body sherds (2 were erroneously listed as rattles, 1 as a stand). There was also 1 basalt bowl, a miniature basalt mortar, 2 basalt pestles, a faience bead, a silver plated disc, a piece of ivory decoration, a sandstone object (possible a figurine or pendant), a perforated stone disc, and a faience vessel. The cella doorway contained a basalt bowl and a bronze sword. The vestibule between the two towers contained 9 bowls, 3 cooking pots, 2 kraters, a lamp, a miniature bowl, a basalt pestle, and a bronze knife. The northern tower room contained 4 bowls, 2 cooking pots, 2 lamps, a miniature bowl, a dipper juglet, a basalt pestle, and a perforated basalt object of unknown function. The southern tower room only had 5 bowls in it.

A single room extending eastwards from the front of the temple (referred to here as the outbuilding) contained 2 bowls, a cooking pot, a krater, a lamp, a miniature bowl, and a modified sherd. The kiln is located in the southern part of the forecourt, against the eastern

**Table 25- The finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 2**

|      |                             | Context   |      |       |       |                 |      |                     |      |               |      |               |      |                          |      |               |      |               |      |                 |      |                |      |             |      |             |      |                  |      |                  |      |               |      |               |      |                |      |                |      |         |      |           |      |   |     |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|-----------------|------|---------------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|--------------------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|----------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|----------------|------|----------------|------|---------|------|-----------|------|---|-----|
|      |                             | Backcourt |      | Cella |       | Cella Threshold |      | Courtyard Gatehouse |      | Forecourt (E) |      | Forecourt (N) |      | Forecourt (N) Sherd Heap |      | Forecourt (S) |      | Forecourt (W) |      | Forecourt Drain |      | Forecourt Kiln |      | Outbuilding |      | Outer Court |      | Outer Court (NE) |      | Outer Court (SE) |      | Sidecourt (N) |      | Sidecourt (S) |      | Tower Room (N) |      | Tower Room (S) |      | Unspec. |      | Vestibule |      |   |     |
|      |                             | No.       | %    | No.   | %     | No.             | %    | No.                 | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.                      | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.             | %    | No.            | %    | No.         | %    | No.         | %    | No.              | %    | No.              | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.            | %    | No.            | %    | No.     | %    |           |      |   |     |
| Type | Bowl (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 40    | 16.8% | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 6             | 2.5% | 1             | .4%  | 5                        | 2.1% | 4             | 1.7% | 15            | 6.3% | 0               | 0.0% | 5              | 2.1% | 2           | .8%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1                | .4%  | 1                | .4%  | 8             | 3.4% | 3             | 1.3% | 4              | 1.7% | 5              | 2.1% | 1       | .4%  | 9         | 3.8% |   |     |
|      | Chalice (Ceramic)           | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 1.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 2             | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1                | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1       | .4%  | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)       | 2         | .8%  | 2     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 1             | .4%  | 1                        | .4%  | 2             | .8%  | 2             | .8%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1           | .4%  | 1           | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2             | .8%  | 1             | .4%  | 2              | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 3         | 1.3% |   |     |
|      | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Goblet (Ceramic)            | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Incense Stand (Ceramic)     | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 3               | 1.3% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Jar (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Jug (Ceramic)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Kernos (Ceramic)            | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Krater (Ceramic)            | 1         | .4%  | 2     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2                        | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 3             | 1.3% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1           | .4%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 2 | .8% |
|      | Lamp (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1           | .4%  | 0           | 0.0% | 1                | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2              | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  |   |     |
|      | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)    | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2                        | .8%  | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 11             | 4.6% | 1           | .4%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 1       | .4%  | 0         | 0.0% | 1 | .4% |
|      | Miniature Goblet (Ceramic)  | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Pithos (Ceramic)            | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Store Jar (Ceramic)         | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 1.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 3                   | 1.3% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 3                        | 1.3% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1       | .4%  | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Tray (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Vessel (Faience)            | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Bowl (Basalt)               | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 1               | .4%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Pestle (Basalt)             | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 2                   | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  |   |     |
|      | Miniature Mortar (Basalt)   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Perforated Object (Basalt)  | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Bead (Faience)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Crescent (Bronze)           | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 3             | 1.3% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Crescent (Silver)           | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Disc (Gold)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Disc (Silver-plated Bronze) | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Arrow-head (Bronze)         | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1                | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Knife (Bronze)              | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 1         | .4%  |   |     |
|      | Sword (Bronze)              | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 1               | .4%  | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Perforated Disc (Stone)     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Modified Sherd              | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .4%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1           | .4%  | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Needle (Bronze)             | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 1           | .4%  | 0                | 0.0% | 1                | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Object (Ivory)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Object (Stone)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .4%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                        | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0       | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% |   |     |
|      | Wire (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0                   | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                        | .4%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0           | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% |                |      |                |      |         |      |           |      |   |     |



Graph 13- The Finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 2

wall of the outbuilding. It contained mainly miniature vessels including 11 miniature bowls and a miniature goblet as well as 5 full sized bowls.

The forecourt is divided according to compass points. These divisions follow the four published floor contexts although no physical divisions existed and they are therefore likely to be part of one larger context. The northern forecourt (north of the drain), contained a bowl, a cooking pot, a dipper juglet and a jar. A sherd heap in the northern courtyard seems to represent a cleaning of the area and contained 5 bowls, 3 store jars, 2 kraters, 2 miniature bowls, cooking pot, a pithos, a ceramic tray, a dipper juglet, an incense stand, a silver crescent, and a piece of bronze wire. The drain itself is created from 3 reused incense stands. The southern forecourt is a small area between the kiln and the eastern forecourt wall. It contained 4 bowls, 2 cooking pots, a miniature bowl, and an unidentified body sherd.

The western forecourt is the area immediately in front of the temple entrance. There is a rectangular stone structure in this part of the forecourt, identified as a bamah on which were a number of sherds, bones, and ashes (Yadin et al 1989: 229). Unfortunately, the publication does not specify which finds were on the bamah. The western forecourt produced 15 bowls, 3 kraters, 2 cooking pots, 3 bronze crescents, a gold disc, a modified sherd, and an unidentified body sherd (incorrectly listed as a stand in the publication). The eastern forecourt continues from the bamah in the centre of the forecourt to the gatehouse. There is a smaller stone bamah located in the eastern part of the forecourt, again apparently covered in sherds, bones and ashes although the objects are again unspecified. The eastern forecourt contained 6 bowls, 2 chalices, a goblet, a jug, a kernos fragment, a store jar, a modified sherd, and an unidentified body sherd.

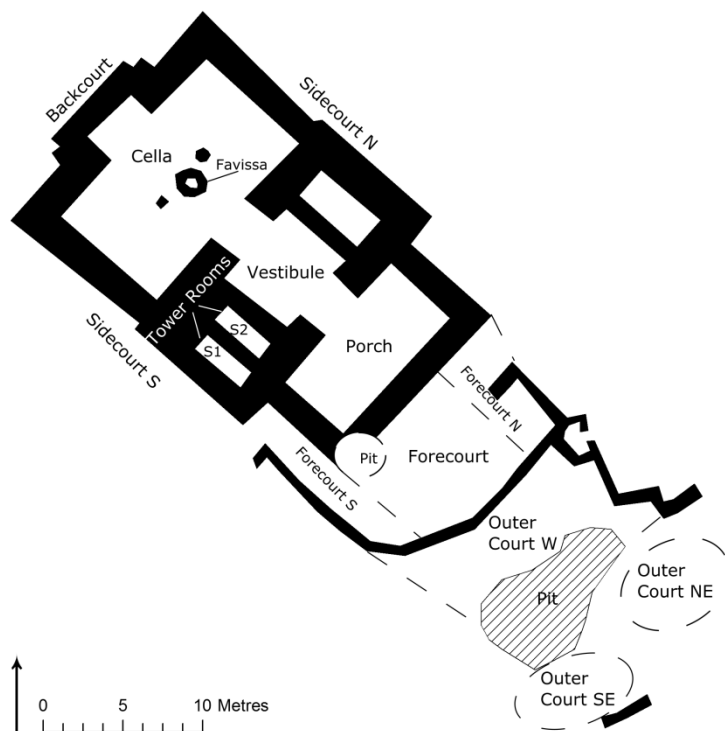
The northern side court in this phase contained 8 bowls, 2 cooking pots, a krater, a lamp, a bronze needle, and an unidentified body sherd. The southern side court contained 3 bowls, 2 jars, a cooking pot, and a bronze arrowhead. There is also a space behind the temple, the limit of which is unknown since it remains unexcavated, this is referred to here as the backcourt although its precise function is unknown. The backcourt contained only 2 cooking pots and a krater.

The gatehouse between the outer court and the forecourt consisted of two small rooms with a direct route through them from the outer to inner courtyard. The gatehouse contained 2 basalt

pestles and 3 store jars. The outer court has been divided into 3 areas following the excavated contexts, northeast, centre, and southeast, although they should probably be considered part of one large context. The north eastern outer court contained only a bowl and a lamp, the central part had a cooking pot, a bronze needle, and an unidentified body sherd, and the south eastern court had a bowl, a chalice, and a bronze arrowhead. A bowl, a chalice, a miniature bowl, and a store jar are also listed with the temple finds, but the context numbers are not mentioned in the report so it is unclear which part of the temple they actually came from.

#### *Area H- Stratum 1b*

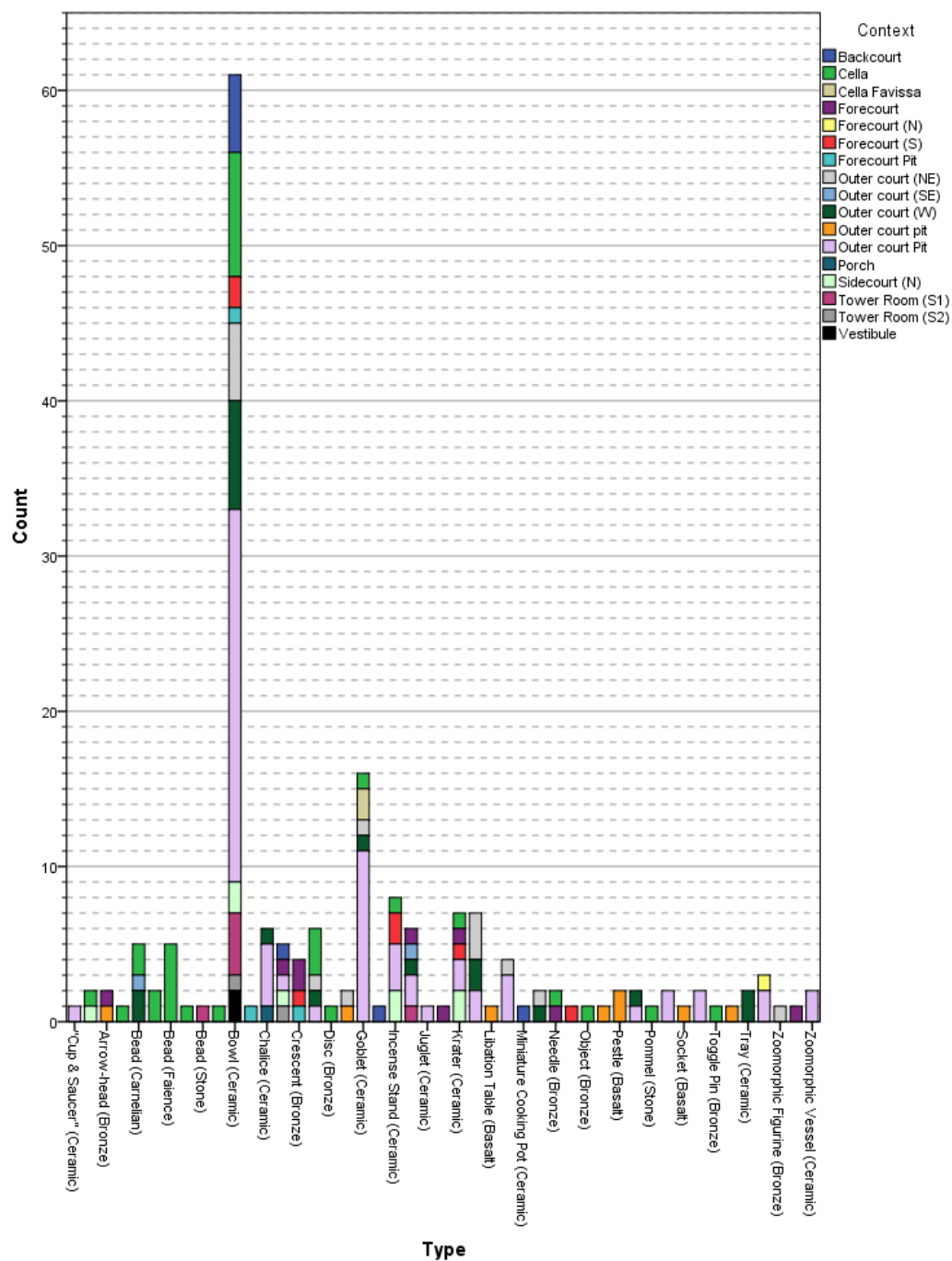
Just over half (57%) of the published Stratum 1b finds are from the outer court (mostly from a large pit), 24% are from the temple building, and the remainder are from the other courtyards. The cella contained 8 bowls, 3 dipper juglets, a decorated goblet, an incense stand, a krater, an anthropomorphic figurine, a basalt basin, a basalt bowl, a bronze disc, a bronze needle, a bronze toggle pin, a stone pommel, and another unidentified piece of bronze. There were also a number of beads, (5 faience, 2 carnelian, 2 of a cherty material, and 1 glass) which were potentially from the same item originally since they were all found together in the southwest corner of the cella. A deep pit or favissa existed in the centre of the



**Figure 59- Hazor Area H Stratum 1b**

Table 26- The finds from Hazor Area H Stratum 1b

|       |                                    | Context   |      |       |       |               |      |           |      |               |      |               |      |               |      |                  |      |                  |      |                 |       |                 |       |       |      | Total |      |               |      |                  |      |                  |      |           |        |
|-------|------------------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|---------------|------|-----------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|---------------|------|------------------|------|------------------|------|-----------|--------|
|       |                                    | Backcourt |      | Cella |       | Cella Favissa |      | Forecourt |      | Forecourt (N) |      | Forecourt (S) |      | Forecourt Pit |      | Outer Court (NE) |      | Outer Court (SE) |      | Outer Court (W) |       | Outer Court Pit |       | Porch |      |       |      | Sidecourt (N) |      | Tower Room (\$1) |      | Tower Room (\$2) |      | Vestibule |        |
|       |                                    | No.       | %    | No.   | %     | No.           | %    | No.       | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.              | %    | No.              | %    | No.             | %     | No.             | %     | No.   | %    | No.   | %    | No.           | %    | No.              | %    | No.              | %    |           |        |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)                     | 5         | 2.7% | 8     | 4.3%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | 1.1% | 1             | .5%  | 5                | 2.7% | 0                | 0.0% | 7               | 3.7%  | 24              | 12.8% | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.1% | 4             | 2.1% | 1                | .5%  | 2                | 1.1% | 61        | 32.4%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)                  | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 4               | 2.1%  | 1     | .5%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 6         | 3.2%   |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)              | 1         | .5%  | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 1     | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 5         | 2.7%   |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)            | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 1.6%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 6         | 3.2%   |
|       | Goblet (Ceramic)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 2             | 1.1% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 11              | 5.9%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 16        | 8.5%   |
|       | Incense Stand (Ceramic)            | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2             | 1.1% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 3               | 1.6%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.1% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 8         | 4.3%   |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 1               | .5%   | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 6         | 3.2%   |
|       | Juglet (Ceramic)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Kernos (Ceramic)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2     | 1.1% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 7         | 3.7%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 3                | 1.6% | 0                | 0.0% | 2               | 1.1%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 7         | 3.7%   |
|       | "Cup & Saucer" (Ceramic)           | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Miniature Bowl (Ceramic)           | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 3               | 1.6%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 4         | 2.1%   |
|       | Miniature Cooking Pot (Ceramic)    | 1         | .5%  | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Miniature Vessel (Ceramic)         | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Pithos (Ceramic)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1               | .5%   | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Pot Stand (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Store Jar (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Tray (Ceramic)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2               | 1.1%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Vessel Foot (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 3         | 1.6%   |
|       | Zoomorphic Vessel (Ceramic)        | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Bowl (Faience)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Handle (Alabaster)                 | 1         | .5%  | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Basin (Basalt)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Bowl (Basalt)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Libation Table (Basalt)            | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Pestle (Basalt)                    | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Perforated Object (Basalt)         | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Socket (Basalt)                    | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Tray (Basalt)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Anthropomorphic Figurine (Ceramic) | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 1     | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Zoomorphic Figurine (Ceramic)      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Zoomorphic Figurine (Bronze)       | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Bead (Carnelian)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.1%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 2               | 1.1%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 5         | 2.7%   |
|       | Bead (Chert?)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.1%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Bead (Faience)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 5     | 2.7%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 5         | 2.7%   |
|       | Bead (Glass)                       | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Bead (Stone)                       | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Crescent (Bronze)                  | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 1             | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 4         | 2.1%   |
|       | Disc (Bronze)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Disc (Silver)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1                | .5%  | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Toggle Pin (Bronze)                | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Arrow-head (Bronze)                | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 1               | .5%   | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Pommel (Stone)                     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Needle (Bronze)                    | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 1         | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 2         | 1.1%   |
|       | Object (Bone)                      | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .5%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
|       | Object (Bronze)                    | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .5%   | 0             | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0               | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0%  | 0     | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 0                | 0.0% | 1         | .5%    |
| Total |                                    | 8         | 4.3% | 32    | 17.0% | 2             | 1.1% | 9         | 4.8% | 1             | .5%  | 7             | 3.7% | 3             | 1.6% | 14               | 7.4% | 2                | 1.1% | 19              | 10.1% | 72              | 38.3% | 1     | .5%  | 8     | 4.3% | 6             | 3.2% | 2                | 1.1% | 2                | 1.1% | 188       | 100.0% |



Graph 14- The finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 1b

cella containing only a few objects, 2 sherds from the same goblet found on the cella floor, the body of a basalt statue and pieces of a basalt bowl (Yadin et al 1989: 245). It seems likely given the low number of finds in the pit that the finds had fallen in from the cella rather than being intentionally placed in the pit. Therefore, this pit was probably not designed as a favissa but served some other purpose.

The vestibule area between the two towers contained only 2 bowl fragments in this phase. Only the southern tower produced finds in this phase. It was divided into northern and southern “rooms” (here the southernmost is called 1 and the northern 2). These two rooms were interpreted as the foundation of a stairwell within the tower, suggesting access to an upper storey or the roof was necessary (Yadin et al 1989: 245). It is suggested that Room 1 (south), was used as a storage area under the stairs since there were a number of vessels and traces of burning in it (Yadin et al 1989: 245). The objects from Room 1 were 4 bowls and a jug as well as a single stone bead. Room 2 (north) contained only 2 sherds from a cooking pot and a bowl respectively. In this phase, there was additionally a porch directly in front of the towers and vestibule. The porch was badly preserved and it contained only a single sherd from a chalice.

There were three excavated areas in the forecourt in this phase, called here north, south, and centre. The northern part of the forecourt contained a single sherd, the foot of a vessel. The southern part contained 2 bowls, 2 incense stands, a krater, a bronze crescent, and a piece of worked bone. The central part contained a cooking pot, a jug, a krater, a kernos fragment, 2 bronze crescents, a bronze arrowhead, a bronze needle, and a fragment of a ceramic zoomorphic figurine. A pit, 1.8m deep, in the central part of the courtyard, that partially cuts into the foundation wall of the porch, contained a bowl, a bronze crescent, a faience bowl, and pieces of orthostats including one depicting a lion (Yadin et al 1989: 246). The northern side court contained 2 bowls, a cooking pot, 2 incense stands, 2 kraters, and the head of a handmade “pinch faced” figurine. The backcourt contained 5 bowls, a cooking pot, a miniature cooking pot, and the handle of an alabaster vessel.

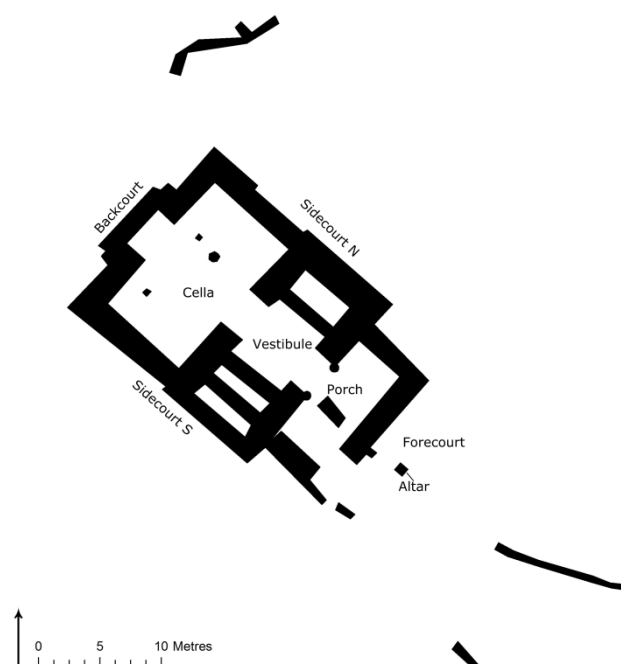
The northeast outer court contained 5 bowls, 3 lamps, a dipper juglet, a goblet, a miniature bowl, a miniature vessel, a silver disc and a bronze figurine of a snake, and 2 unidentified body sherds. The southeast outer court had a single jug and a carnelian bead. The western part of the outer court, directly in front of the forecourt wall contained 7 bowls, 2 ceramic



trays, 2 lamps, a chalice, a dipper juglet, a jug, a miniature vessel, a pithos, a goblet, and 2 carnelian beads. Most of the finds in the outer court (72 items) derive from a large pit, which sits between the other three areas of the outer court. These consist of 24 bowls, 11 goblets, 4 chalices, 3 incense stands, 3 miniature bowls, 2 jugs, 2 kraters, 2 store jars, 2 zoomorphic vessel fragments, 2 lamps, 2 pot stands, a cooking pot, a juglet, a cup and saucer vessel, a dipper juglet, a pithos, and the feet of 2 vessels. There was also a bronze arrowhead, a silver disc, a basalt libation table, a perforated basalt object, 2 basalt pestles, a basalt socket, and a basalt tray.

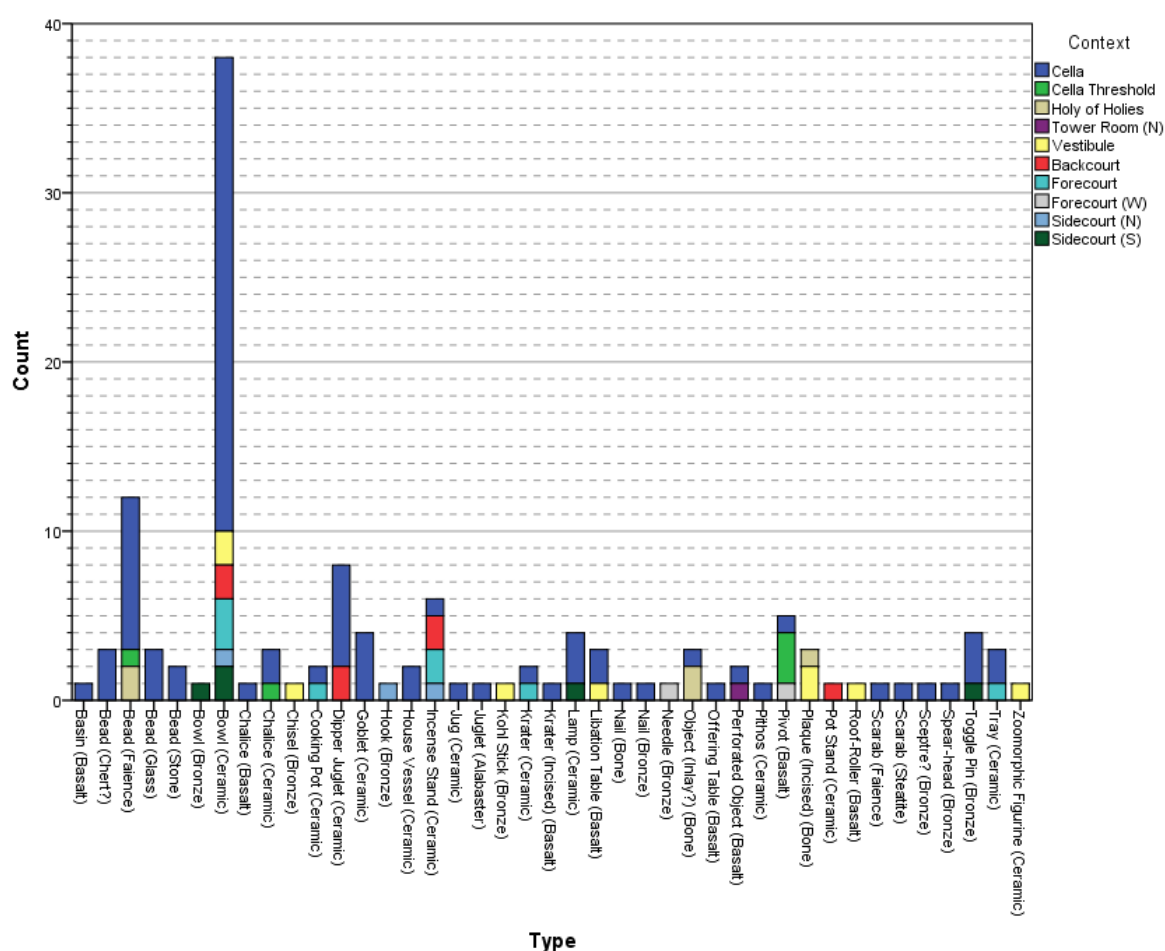
### *Area H- Stratum 1a*

In this phase the courtyard areas are very poorly preserved and as such most of the finds (108 items, 80% of the published assemblage) are from the temple building. In the forecourt, all the finds were situated in a small area surrounding a basalt offering table just in front of the porch. These were 3 bowls, 2 incense stands, a krater, a cooking pot, a ceramic tray, 2 unidentified body sherds, a bronze needle, and a basalt pivot. The northern side court contained only a bowl, an incense stand, and a bronze hook. The southern side court produced 2 bowls, a lamp, a bronze toggle pin, and a bronze bowl. The backcourt contained 2 bowls, 2 dipper juglets, 2 incense stands, and a pot stand.



**Figure 60- Hazor Area H, Stratum 1a**

The cella itself contained a high concentration of finds. Most of these were bowls (28 examples), but also present were 6 dipper juglets, 4 goblets, 3 lamps, 2 chalices, 2 ceramic trays, a cooking pot, an incense stand, a jug, a krater, a pithos and a house shaped vessel. There were also 3 bronze toggle pins, a bronze spear head, a bronze sceptre, 2 scarabs (1 faience and 1 steatite), 2 nails (1 bronze, 1 bone), an alabaster juglet, a piece of bone inlay, a bronze bull figurine, and a bronze female figurine. There were several beads scattered across the cella including 9 faience, 3 glass, 2 stone, and 3 of a cherty material. There are strikingly a number of basalt items in this final phase of the temple including a basin, a chalice, a krater, 2 libation tables, an offering table, a perforated object, a pivot, and a statue of a man. The niche in the rear wall (the holy of holies) contained 2 faience beads, 2 bone inlays, and an incised bone plaque. In the cella doorway contained 3 basalt pivots, a faience bead, and a chalice. The vestibule contained 2 bowls, 2 incised bone plaques, a bronze kohl stick, a bronze chisel, a basalt libation table, a basalt roof-roller, and a ceramic animal figurine. The northern tower room contained a single perforated basalt object.



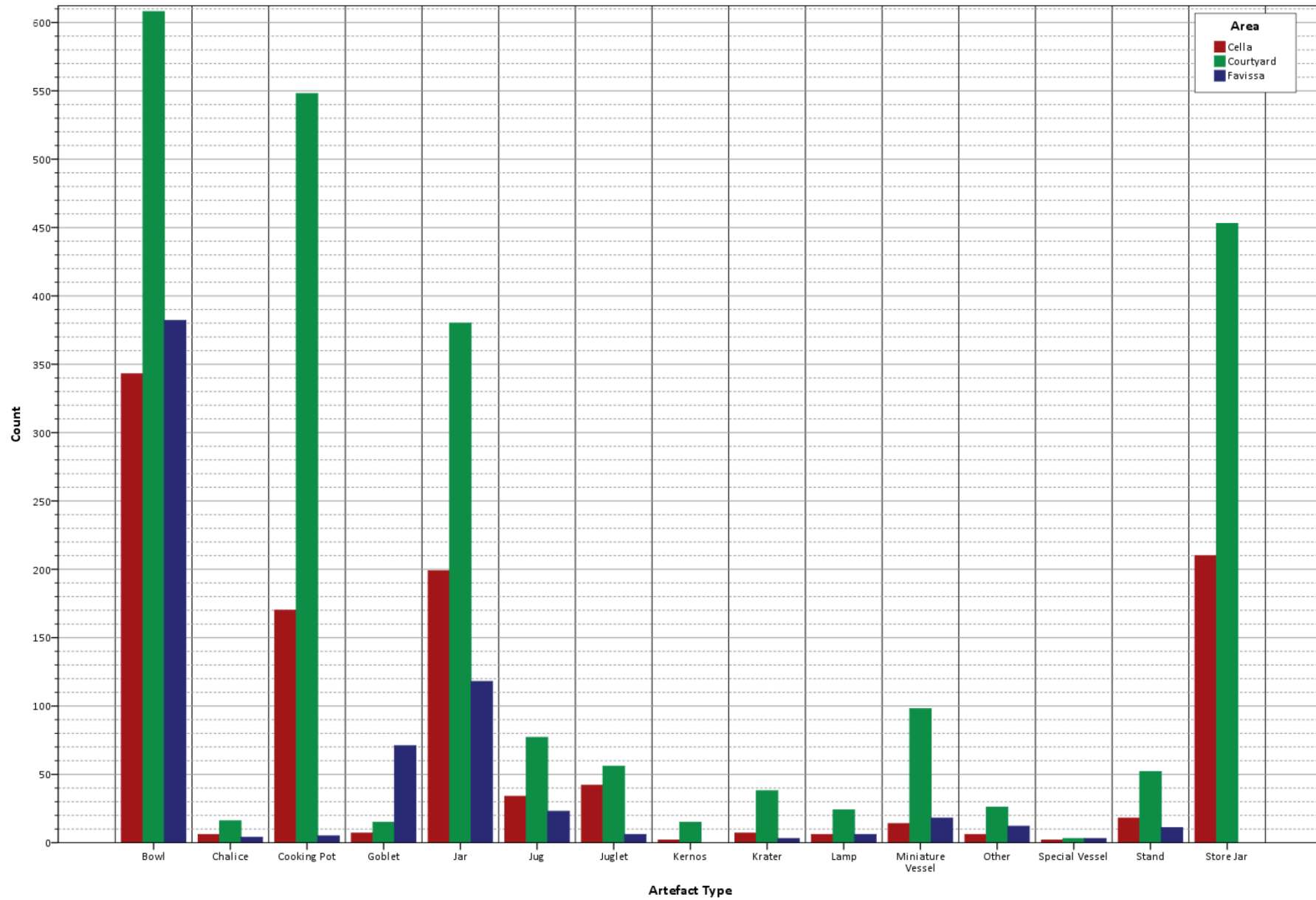
Graph 15- The finds from Hazor Area H, Stratum 1a

**Table 27- The finds from Hazor Area H Stratum 1a**

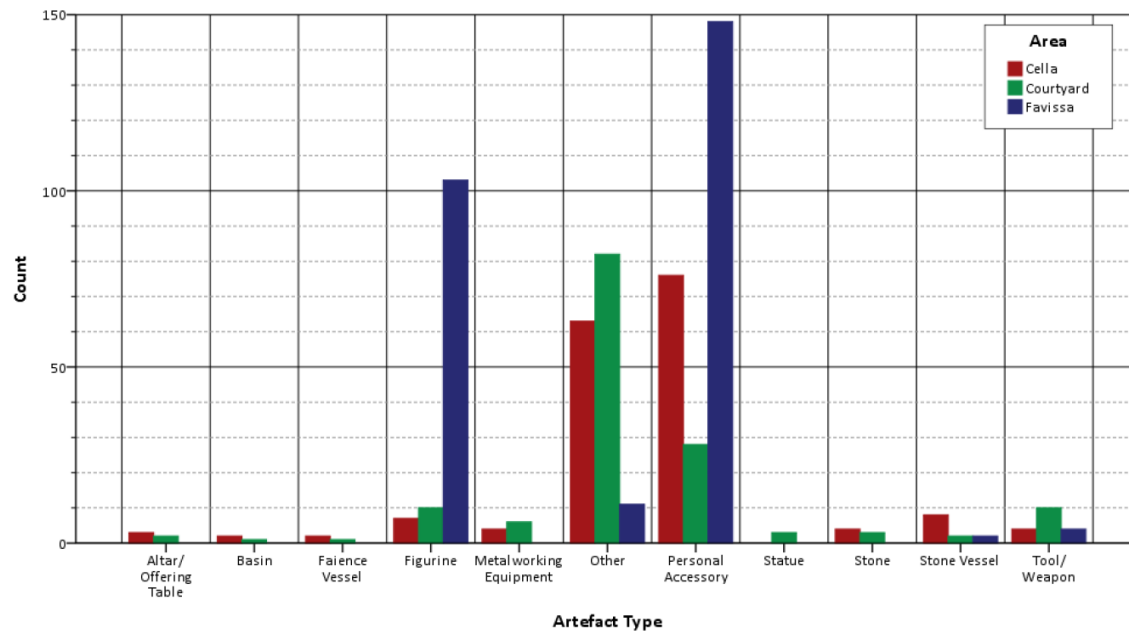
|       |                               | Context   |      |       |       |                 |      |           |      |               |      |                |      |               |      |               |      |                |      | Total |      |           |        |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|-----------------|------|-----------|------|---------------|------|----------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|----------------|------|-------|------|-----------|--------|
|       |                               | Backcourt |      | Cella |       | Cella Threshold |      | Forecourt |      | Forecourt (W) |      | Holy of Holies |      | Sidecourt (N) |      | Sidecourt (S) |      | Tower Room (N) |      |       |      | Vestibule |        |
|       |                               | No.       | %    | No.   | %     | No.             | %    | No.       | %    | No.           | %    | No.            | %    | No.           | %    | No.           | %    | No.            | %    |       |      | No.       | %      |
| Type  | Bowl (Ceramic)                | 2         | 1.5% | 28    | 21.1% | 0               | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 2             | 1.5% | 0              | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5% | 38        | 28.6%  |
|       | Chalice (Ceramic)             | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5%  | 1               | .8%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Cooking Pot (Ceramic)         | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5%   |
|       | Dipper Juglet (Ceramic)       | 2         | 1.5% | 6     | 4.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 8         | 6.0%   |
|       | Goblet (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 4     | 3.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 3.0%   |
|       | House Vessel (Ceramic)        | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5%   |
|       | Incense Stand (Ceramic)       | 2         | 1.5% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 6         | 4.5%   |
|       | Jug (Ceramic)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Krater (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5%   |
|       | Lamp (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 2.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 3.0%   |
|       | Pithos (Ceramic)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Pot Stand (Ceramic)           | 1         | .8%  | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Tray (Ceramic)                | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 1         | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Bowl (Bronze)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Juglet (Alabaster)            | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Basin (Basalt)                | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Chalice (Basalt)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Krater (Incised) (Basalt)     | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Libation Table (Basalt)       | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1     | .8%  | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Offering Table (Basalt)       | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Perforated Object (Basalt)    | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .8%  | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5%   |
|       | Pivot (Basalt)                | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 3               | 2.3% | 0         | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 5         | 3.8%   |
|       | Roof-Roller (Basalt)          | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1     | .8%  | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Zoomorphic Figurine (Ceramic) | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1     | .8%  | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Bead (Chert?)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 2.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Bead (Faience)                | 0         | 0.0% | 9     | 6.8%  | 1               | .8%  | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2              | 1.5% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 12        | 9.0%   |
|       | Bead (Glass)                  | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 2.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Bead (Stone)                  | 0         | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 2         | 1.5%   |
|       | Toggle Pin (Bronze)           | 0         | 0.0% | 3     | 2.3%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 4         | 3.0%   |
|       | Scarab (Faience)              | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Scarab (Steatite)             | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Sceptre? (Bronze)             | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Kohl Stick (Bronze)           | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1     | .8%  | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Needle (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Spear-head (Bronze)           | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Chisel (Bronze)               | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1     | .8%  | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Hook (Bronze)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 1             | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Object (Inlay?) (Bone)        | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 2              | 1.5% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Plaque (Incised) (Bone)       | 0         | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0%  | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 1              | .8%  | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 2     | 1.5% | 3         | 2.3%   |
|       | Nail (Bronze)                 | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
|       | Nail (Bone)                   | 0         | 0.0% | 1     | .8%   | 0               | 0.0% | 0         | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0             | 0.0% | 0              | 0.0% | 0     | 0.0% | 1         | .8%    |
| Total |                               | 7         | 5.3% | 88    | 66.2% | 5               | 3.8% | 8         | 6.0% | 2             | 1.5% | 5              | 3.8% | 3             | 2.3% | 5             | 3.8% | 1              | .8%  | 9     | 6.8% | 133       | 100.0% |

## Summary of Case Study Sites

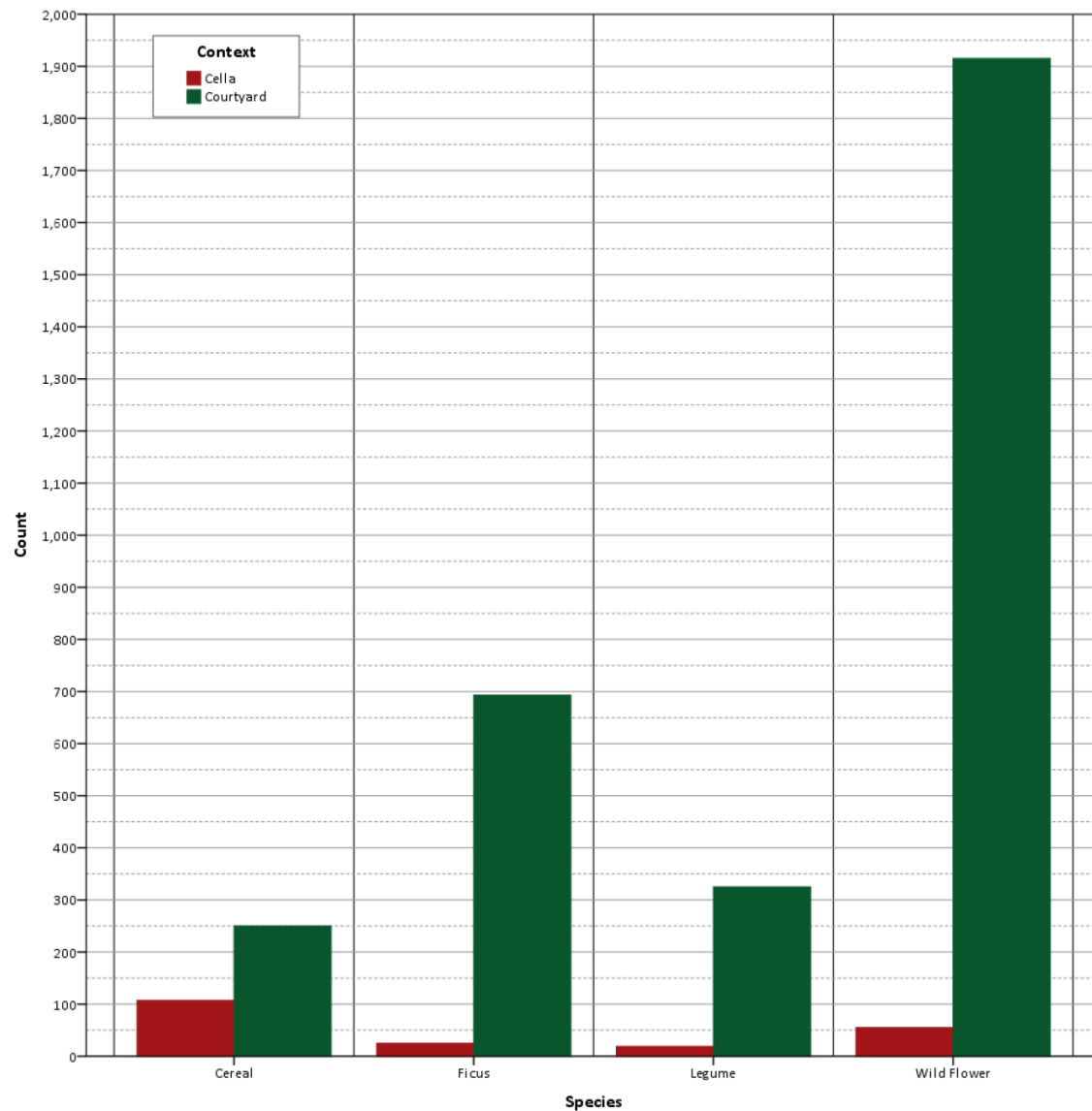
Having presented the finds from the case study sites, the finds from different areas of the temples will now be compared in the hope of better understanding the relationship between the different spaces and their associated activities. By comparing the finds by context, rather than by site, it is hoped that we will be able to see whether or not the same zones of activity are present for the different temples, for example, which activities (if any) are restricted to temple interiors or courtyards. The nature of the publications and excavations means that there is probably a slight skew in the data, for example for Ebla HH1 and P, only the favissae



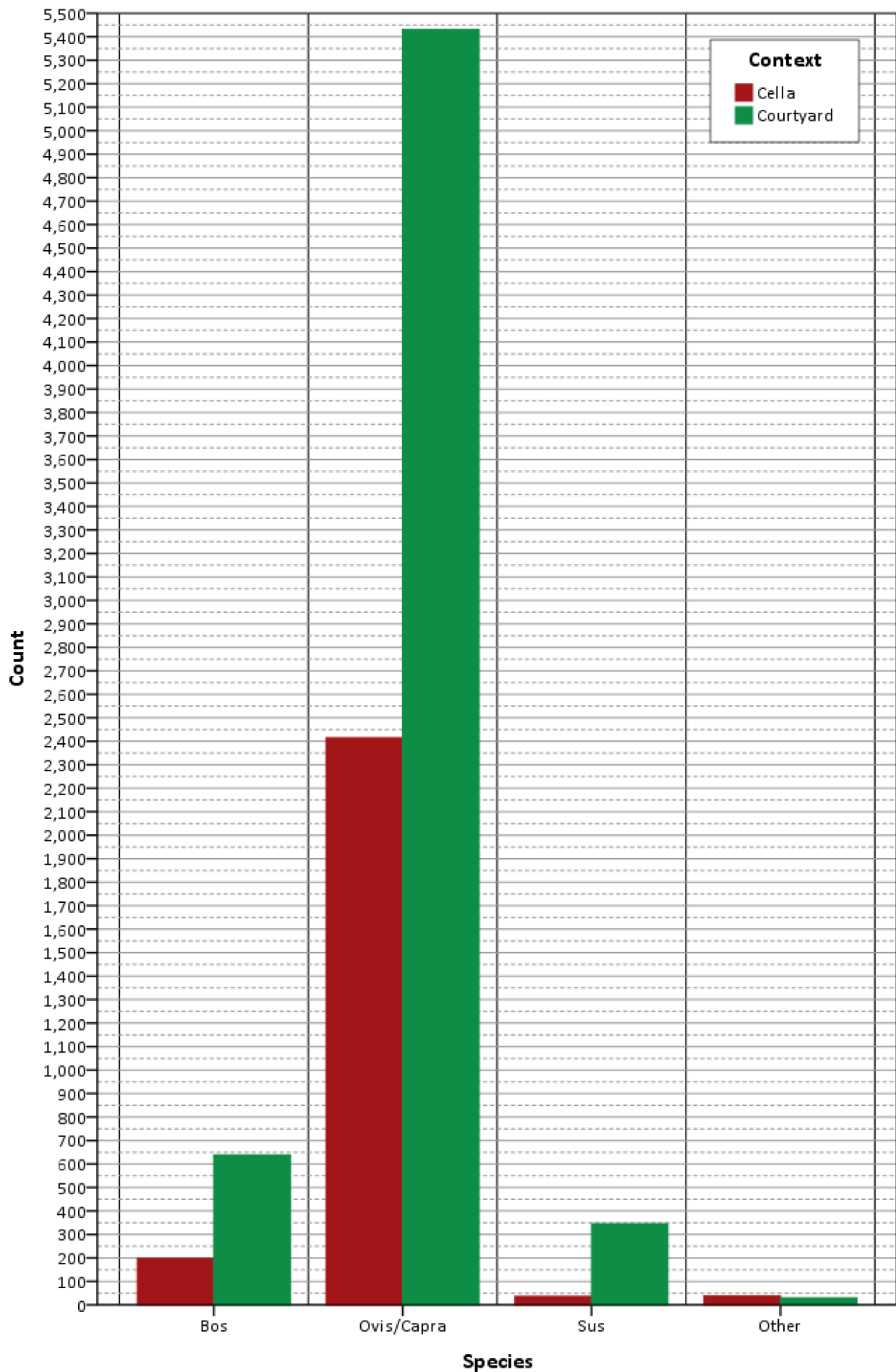
Graph 16- Ceramics from all case study sites and their context



Graph 17- Small finds from all case study sites and their contexts



Graph 18- Botanical Remains from case study sites and their contexts



Graph 19- Fauna from case study sites by context

are published, and the Long Temple and White Temple courtyards at Hazor are not fully excavated.

The courtyards produced by far the highest number of finds, accounting for 60% of the total assemblage (including faunal and botanical remains) and 55% of the ceramics and small finds. The finds from the cellae account for 23% of all the published finds from the case study sites and 30% of the ceramic and small find assemblage. Immediately this seems to suggest that a greater proportion of activity occurs in the temple courtyards. It seems likely that since the temple in the ancient near east was considered literally to be the abode of the deity on earth that access to the temple cellae would have been limited to certain authorised personnel, namely the priests. If this is indeed the case, then it may equally suggest that the courtyards were the setting for more public acts of worship, hence a greater volume of finds would be associated with them.

When we consider the types of finds, we see also that there is a slight difference between the cellae and courtyard assemblages. Bowls are the most prevalent find in both areas but the percentages in each area (32% and 25% of the cella and courtyard assemblages respectively) show that they are slightly more common in the cellae. Storage Jars account for more or less the same proportions of both the cella and courtyard assemblages (19% and 20% respectively) and are the second most common find in both. The proportion of cooking pots in the courtyards is considerably higher, accounting for 23% of the assemblage, compared to making up only 16% of the cella assemblage. Jars, on the other hand are slightly more prevalent in the cellae (19%) than in the courtyard (16%). Juglets are also slightly more common in the cellae, whereas chalices, goblets, jugs, kernoi, and special vessels (i.e. zoomorphic vessels) are more or less equally common. Kraters, lamps, miniature vessels, and stands are all slightly more common in the courtyards. Personal items such as jewellery and seals, and stone vessels, are more than twice as common in the cellae whereas more utilitarian items such as tools and items associated with metalworking are more common in the courtyards. Other finds like figurines and statues are proportionally equally distributed although slightly more common in the courtyards.

The faunal assemblage also shows slight variations between cellae and courtyards although admittedly the data will not be entirely accurate since only Tell al-Hayyat and Tel Haror can be used here, and the cella at Tel Haror was so poorly preserved that only a 25 bones were recovered from it, the majority of which were unidentifiable. Although sheep/goat bones are the most common bones, there are a higher proportion of them in the cella (90%) than in the courtyard (84%). Cattle and pig bones however are more common in the courtyard although pig bones are relatively rare. Another interesting point is that there are more bird bones, particularly dove bone in the cellae compared to the courtyard. Although the numbers are still very small, it does seem possible that birds were being used in temple rituals and/or food offerings more often in the cella than in the courtyard. Dove bones were also common in the favissae in the Ebla P temple, suggesting that they were perhaps associated with certain religious activities. It should also be noted that the proportion of sheep/goat bones at Tell el-Hayyat in particular, becomes slightly higher over time, suggesting a change in attitude towards the slaughtering of animals in relation to religious activities.



**Figure 61- The assemblage from the favissae in the Temple of the Rock at Ebla (Sala 2012: fig. 7)**

The most common finds in the favissae are again bowls, which account for 57% of the finds, and jars, which account for 18%. There is also a higher percentage of goblets (10%) in the favissae compared to the cellae and courtyard assemblages. Only 5 cooking pots are found in the favissae, 2 at Ebla HH1, and 3 in the Hazor White Temple, in stark contrast to other areas of the temples, and there is a notable absence of storage jars. Small finds in the favissae



consist predominantly of figurines and personal items like jewellery, items, which should probably be seen as votives.



**Figure 62- Some ceramics from the favissa in the White Temple at Hazor (Zuckerman 2006: 6)**



## CHAPTER 6

### COMPARATIVE TEMPLES

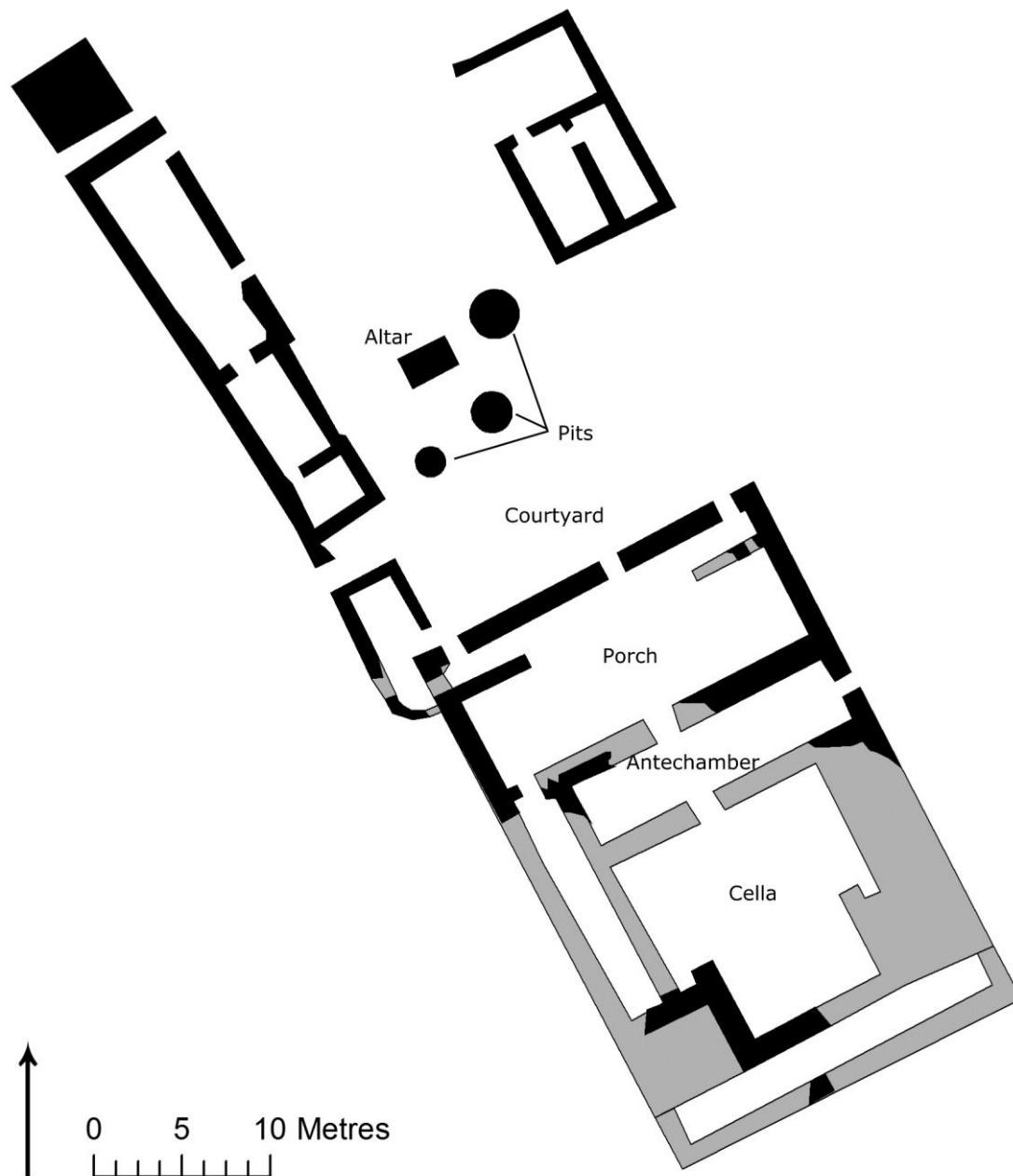
This chapter presents the available data from a number of temples contemporary with the temple in *antis*, but of a different type. These sites were chosen because the publications of the sites, although often not as detailed as would be ideal, do give enough data that they can be meaningfully compared to the temples in *antis*. The temples included here are the “Syro-Palestinian” Temple at Tell el-Dab’a, Hazor Area C, Hazor Area F, the Fosse Temple at Lachish, the Citadel Temple at Lachish, and the three phases of the Nahariyah Temple.

#### *Tell el-Dab’a*

Tell el-Dab’a is situated in the Egyptian Delta, and has been identified as the Hyksos capital Avaris (Müller 1995: 793). Although it is in Egypt, parallels have been drawn between Tell el-Dab’a and the Levant because the site was the capital city of the Palestinian Kings of Egypt (Kemp 2006: 41). The site has been excavated since 1975 by an Austrian team under the direction first of Manfred Bietak and more recently (since 2009), by Irene Forstner-Müller. The town was inhabited from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Middle Bronze I), and towards the end of that dynasty a group of Syro-Palestinian immigrants seem to have settled there. The town grew rapidly, especially at the beginning of the Hyksos period (15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), then at the end of that period the town was largely abandoned for a while before being resettled at various points during its history (Tell el-Dab’a no date).

There are several sacred areas at the site (Müller 2002: 271), but it is Temple III in area A/II that is of interest here since it is said to be of a Syro-Palestinian type, based on the ground plan which consists of a broad cella, antechamber and porch (Bietak 1997: 105). The temple forecourt had a freestanding altar on which were found acorns, leading the excavators to suggest that oak trees may have grown around the courtyard (Bietak 1997: 105). Although it is admittedly not a typical Egyptian temple, it does bear resemblance in ground plan to some Middle Kingdom temples (see for example Snape 1996: 26-27), and it is not distinctively Levantine either. It is certainly not a typical temple *in antis*, and other Middle Bronze temples in the Levant are so varied in plan that it is difficult to draw similarities between them and the Tell el-Dab’a temple. It is included in this comparison chapter since it is not considered to be

a form of temple in antis by the author but it is felt that the temple should be systematically compared to the others as it has been compared to Levantine temples in the past (e.g. Müller 2002).



**Figure 63- The "Syro-Palestinian" Temple at Tell el-Dab'a**

All of the published finds from the “Syro-Palestinian” temple at Tell el-Dab’a derive from the three offering pits in the temple’s courtyard. The finds from the courtyard floor and temple building are both poorly preserved and poorly recorded but they consisted of broken vessels and animal bones (Müller 2002: 277). The three pits were filled in single events and

contained numerous broken sherds and animals bones, Müller believing that they represent the remains of feasts that were ritually burned and smashed before being deposited in the pits (Müller 2002: 277). The three pits contained: 51 bowls, 21 miniature bowls, 3 cooking pots, 42 drinking cups, 32 beakers, 20 jars, 8 dipper juglets, 3 amphorae, and 5 pot stands. Müller believes that the miniature bowls do not necessarily represent votive offerings but could easily have been used to serve small amounts of food or drink or as jar stoppers (Müller 2002: 278).

92% of the animal bones found belonged to cattle, the rest of the bones are mainly sheep/goat, as well as some bird bones, and all the cattle bones are burned, whereas other bones are unburned (Müller 1995: 796). In comparison only about 50% of the faunal assemblage from the settlement is cattle (Müller 2002: 280). Despite the supposed Syro-Palestinian nature of this temple, and the fact that it has been compared to temples across the Levant, the offering pits seem to be more akin to Egyptian ritual remains, particularly in terms of the high proportion of cattle remains and the burning of the bones.

#### *Hazor C (The Stelae Temple)*

In Area C at Hazor, located at the southern corner of the lower tell next to the rampart, a simple single roomed shrine was uncovered, known as the Stelae Temple because of a number of stelae found within it (Yadin 1972: 67). The shrine is a simple, slightly irregular, rectilinear structure with an entrance in the eastern wall and holy of holies in a semi-circular niche in the rear wall, measuring 6 x 4.5 m (exterior measurements). There are low benches around the inside of the temple made of roughly cut stone and two well-cut stone slabs, perhaps used as offering tables (Yadin 1972: 68). The first phase of the temple was built in Hazor Stratum 1b (Late Bronze II), contemporary with the Hazor H 1b temple. Inside the temple, bowls and goblets were found as well as a large jug placed in the holy-of-holies. In the northwest corner, behind the two stone slabs a pair of bronze cymbals was found inside a bronze bowl (Yadin et al 1958: 85).

The shrine was rebuilt along the same plan in Hazor Stratum 1a (Late Bronze II), following a destruction of the western wall, possibly due to subsidence of the rampart (Yadin 1972: 69). In this phase, the floor of the niche seems to have been built up, creating a platform on which were stood the stelae (Yadin et al 1958: 86). At the beginning of this phase a glass sceptre, a

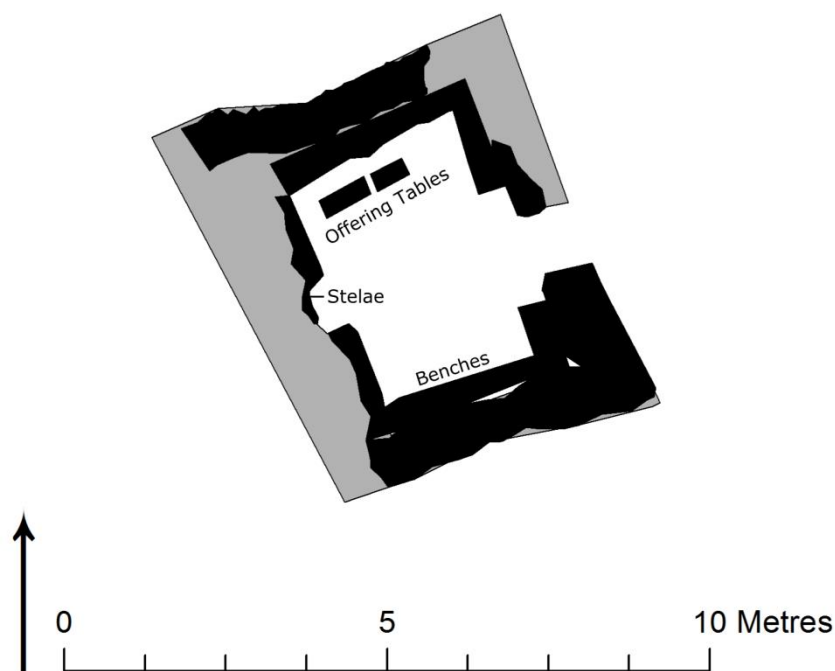


Figure 65- Hazor Area C Temple



Figure 64- The Stelae in the niche of the Hazor C Temple in situ  
(<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/media/2398/Standing-stones-and-seated-deity-from-the-high-place-at>)

bowl and a basalt statuette were deposited beneath the stelae in the niche (Yadin et al 1958: 87). A basalt statue of a beardless seated male was found in the niche, believed to be the deity, along with a row of ten standing stones, one of which was carved with a relief depicting two hands stretching upwards towards the symbol of the deity (Yadin et al 1958: 88-89). A lion orthostat was found in the corner of the niche, and a slab, presumed to be for offerings, was placed in front of the stelae and statue (Yadin et al 1958: 90). It is possible and

indeed likely that these stelae and statues were reused from the earlier phase of the Area C shrine. The pottery assemblage from the stratum 1a temple consisted of 28 bowls, a number of which were decorated with geometric patterns, 4 cooking pots, 4 juglets, 1 jar, 3 lamps, and 1 imported Cypriot milk bowl.

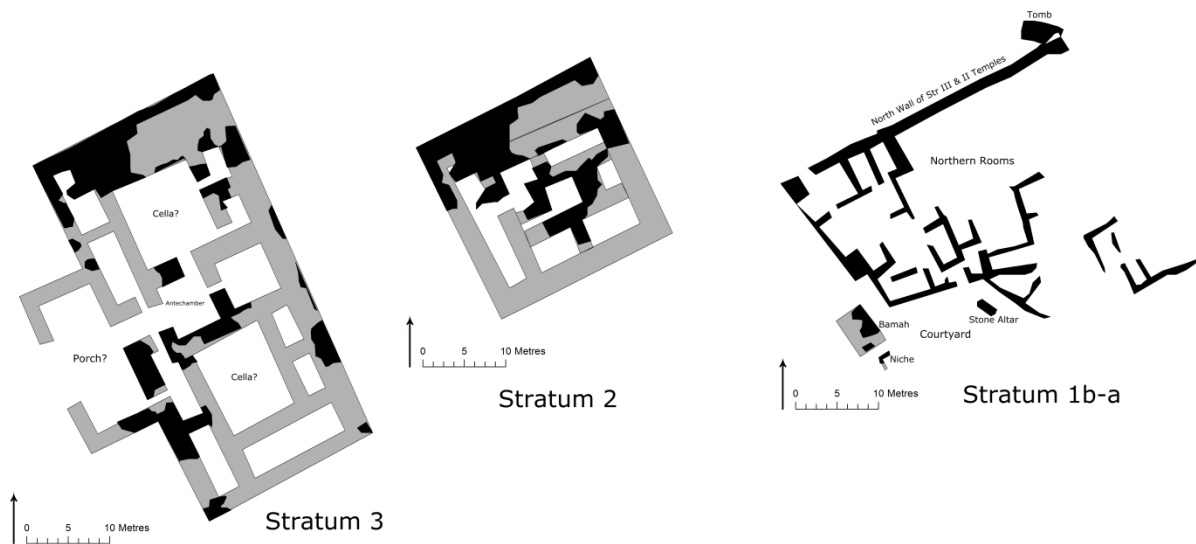
### *Hazor Area F*

Area F is situated in the eastern corner of the Lower Tell at Hazor. There are three phases of a cultic area here, a Middle Bronze double temple, a Late Bronze I square temple, and a Late Bronze II open cult area. The remains in Area F were very fragmentary and initially all that could be seen was that there was a building of a monumental nature in the Middle Bronze period (initially identified as a palace). This was then rebuilt as a square temple in the Late Bronze I and the site became an open cult area in the Late Bronze II (Yadin et al 1989: 138). Because of the later cultic activity in the Area, Yadin was inclined to believe that the Middle Bronze building was also a temple, although the plan is unique in Palestine (the only parallels are in Mesopotamia) (Yadin et al 1989: 138).

The area was quite poorly preserved but the earliest temple (Hazor Stratum 3, Middle Bronze) seems to have been designed as two adjoining square temples, creating a double building interpreted as indicating the worship of two deities in the building (Yadin 1972: 97). The building is 48.5 x 24.5 m (exterior measurements), and the walls (where preserved) are about 3m thick (Yadin et al 1989: 139). The entrance is in the western wall, opening onto a small antechamber, which in turn opens onto a small room at the back of the temple and two large rooms (or courtyards) either side. There are a number of small rooms around the outside of these two larger cellae. There was possibly a porch around the entrance but this is only represented by a fragment of one wall making its reconstruction difficult (Yadin 1972: 97).

Very few finds were associated with the double temple, most likely a result of the poor preservation of the area. There was also difficulty assigning many of the sherds that were found to the temple with certainty, as there was a possibility that some earlier debris had become mixed with the temple material (Yadin et al 1989: 147). 9 bowls (one of which was a Cypriote import), 3 cooking pots, 5 juglets, 3 jugs, 4 kraters, and 1 tray were found in the double temple (Yadin et al 1989: 148-149).

In the Late Bronze I (Hazor Stratum 2), the northern wing of the double temple is rebuilt, likely along more or less the same plan, whilst the southern wing goes out of use (Yadin et al 1989: 151). This phase of the temple was notably scarce in finds, none of which was properly published (Yadin et al 1989: 153). A number of small sherds of storage jars, bowls, and cult stands were found in the central courtyard/cella of the building. In a small room in the southwest corner of the building, more small sherds were found, representing storage jars, jugs, juglets, and bowls (Yadin et al 1989: 153).



**Figure 66- Hazor Area F Strata 3-1**

In the Late Bronze II-III (Hazor Stratum 1b-1a), the temple went out of use and the area seems to have been used as an open cult place (Yadin 1972: 100). This consisted of an open area with a series of small rooms to the northwest (interpreted as representing at least 2 courtyard buildings), a large platform just to the south of these (interpreted as a bamah) and a large stone altar in the middle of the open court (Yadin 1972: 101). Yadin believed that the buildings to the north may have been dwellings, but if so he thought they were likely used by the cult area staff for living and storage (Yadin 1972: 101). The bamah is a raised platform, at least 6.5 m in length and about 0.6 m high. Embedded into the northern part of the bamah was the base of a storage jar and on top of the bamah were 2 cooking pots and a tray (Yadin et al 1960: 130). Just to the south of the bamah was a niche built up with a thin wall. Inside this was found an alabaster double goblet and an alabaster handle. A fragment of an alabaster vase was also found between the bamah and niche and another alabaster jar (with an elaborate floral neck) was found in the courtyard just to the east of the bamah and niche (Yadin et al 1960: 131).



On and around the bamah and niche there was also a particularly high concentration of animal bones including a bull cranium (Yadin et al 1960: 131). The altar in the middle of the open court was set on a raised bed of stones and consisted of a large ashlar block 2.4 x 0.85 x 1.2 m, well hewn with two rectangular depressions cut into the upper surface, connected by a narrow channel (Yadin et al 1960: 131). In the court around the altar, “innumerable fragments of bowls and other vessels” and a large quantity of cattle bones were found. Particularly interesting are the remains of 6 incense stands, 5 cup and saucer lamps, 3 kernoi, and two rattles (Yadin et al 1960: 132). In the northern corner of the excavated area a Late Bronze I-II tomb, which contained the bones of multiple individuals, was excavated, abutting the northern corner of the earlier temple buildings (Yadin et al 1960: 140-141).

### *Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir)*

Lachish is a 12 ha tell, modern Tell ed-Duweir, located in modern day Israel. The site was inhabited from the Neolithic Period onwards, but most evidence comes from the Early Bronze Age through to the Persian Period. During the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, it was surrounded by earthen ramparts and a moat (Mattingly 2000: 173). It was destroyed at the end of the Middle Bronze Age but rebuilt in the Late Bronze Age, being completely burned and destroyed at the end of that period. In the Late Bronze Age, the Fosse Temple and the Acropolis Temple were constructed. The former is an irregular shrine, of which three phases are known (Tufnell et al 1940), and the latter is a large temple with a square cella and bent axis, poorly preserved (Clamer & Ussishkin 1977: 73).

In the Iron Age, Lachish was rebuilt again as a fortified city with two city walls and large gates, including a six-chambered gate. In this period, the so-called “Solar Shrine” was built (Aharoni 1968). It was destroyed again by the Assyrians in 701 B.C.E. as attested to by reliefs in Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh. The city was rebuilt yet again on a smaller scale after a short period of abandonment before being destroyed again at the end of the Iron Age by the Babylonian invasion of the region (Mattingly 2000: 173).

The site was excavated by James Leslie Starkey from 1932 until his sudden death in 1938, with Olga Tufnell completing and publishing the excavation reports from his excavations. Following this, Lachish was excavated by Yohanan Aharoni (1966-68), David Ussishkin

(1973-78) (Mattingly 2000: 173), and recently (2013) a new expedition began under the direction of Yosef Garfinkel, Michael Hasel, and Martin Klingbeil (Garfinkel et al 2013).

The finds from the Fosse Temple are well enough published to act as comparison to the temples in antis. Tufnell notes that there were a large number of broken bowls in the temple (Tufnell et al 1940: 24), which is comparable to other sites, for example Ebla (Marchetti & Nigro 1997), Tell Kabir (Porter 1995), and Megiddo (Epstein 1965). Within the temple, there were a large number of beads, a faience collar (Egyptian) and an ivory hand (Tufnell et al 1940: 24). Three figurines were also found, including one bronze “Reshef” figurine and a crude ceramic figure found in the Shrine of Structure III with a group of burnt ivories and other objects (Tufnell et al 1940: 24). Tufnell also notes that the low number of gold female plaque figurines is unusual considering the large number found at other sites (Tufnell et al 1940: 25).

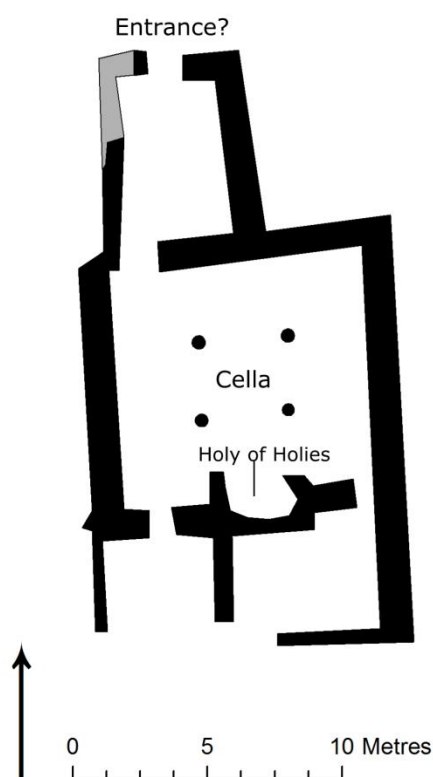


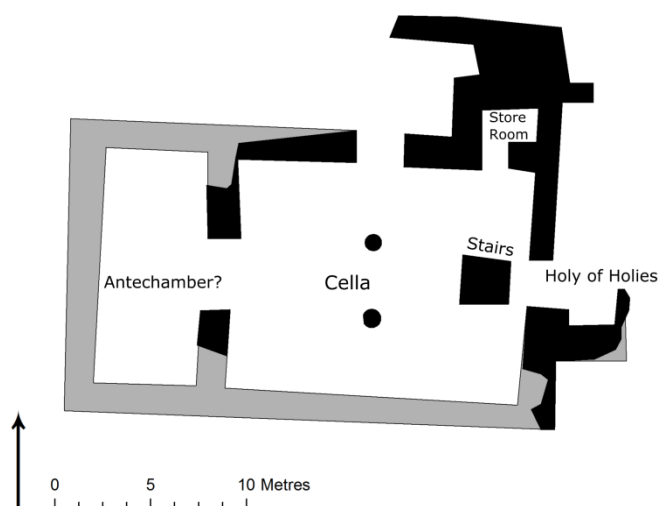
Figure 67- Lachish, Fosse Temple

Notably at the Fosse Temple, there were a series of refuse pits outside the temple building filled with broken pottery and animal bones (Tufnell et al 1940: 44). The earlier pits associated with structure one contained bones and pottery but few other objects, though the

large number of cooking pots is noted (Tufnell et al 1940: 44). The later pits had an “astonishing number of bowls”, fragmentary and complete, which again can be compared to other sites, as well as more small finds than the earlier pits, especially ivory objects (Tufnell et al 1940: 44). A cache in structure III also produced a number of ivory objects, cylinder seals, scarabs, and beads (Tufnell et al 1940: 44).

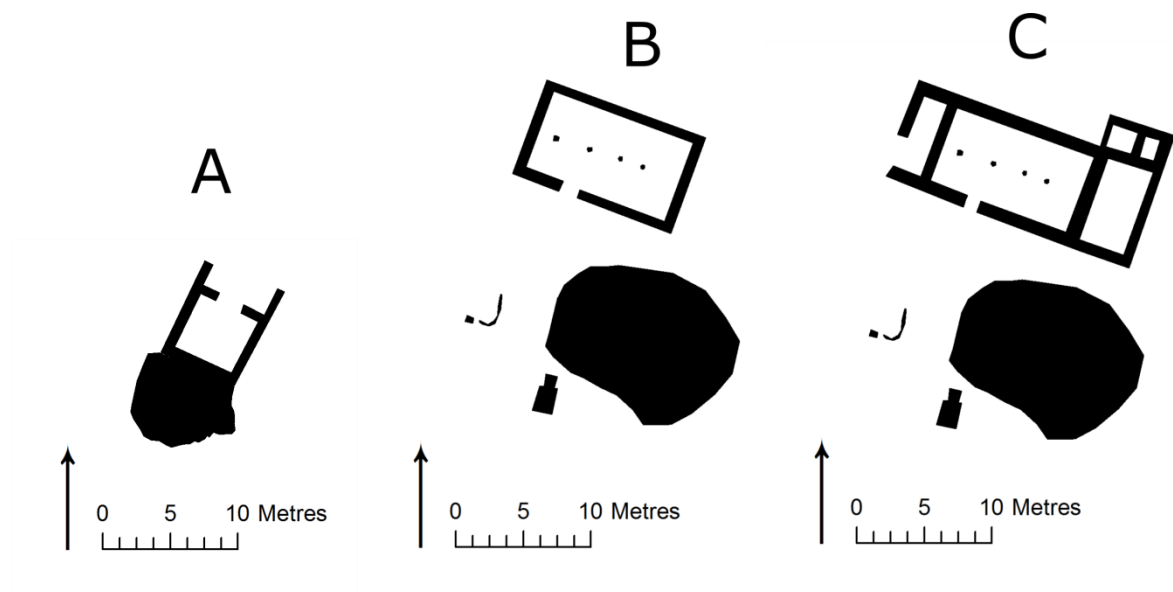
It is also worth mentioning that the animal bones from the pits and elsewhere in the temple were predominantly the right foreleg of young animals, especially of sheep/goat as can be compared to other sites (Tufnell et al 1940: 25). Tufnell notes that this is the portion given to priests as part of the Hebrew peace offering (Tufnell et al 1940: 25). It is also noted that the bones are mostly unburnt but that this should not mean that what was happening was not comparable to the biblical burnt offerings since in the bible such offerings are mainly of flesh and fat so the bones would not necessarily become burnt (Tufnell et al 1940: 25).

Although the Acropolis Temple was poorly preserved a small storeroom in the northeast corner of the building produced numerous sherds and various “smashed vessels” were scattered through the cella (Clamer & Ussishkin 1977: 76). Seven ceramic stands were along the rear wall of the storeroom, at least one of which is a fenestrated cultic stand. There were two storage jars and a “remarkable” quantity of small bowls, as well as a bronze chisel, numerous beads and pendants, pieces of faience, several fragments of ivory inlay and gold foil (indicating the presence of boxes/furniture), and some fragments of iron. There were also imported items, a number of Mycenaean pottery sherds and Egyptian Alabaster vessels (Clamer & Ussishkin 1977: 76).



**Figure 68- Lachish Acropolis Temple**

Nahariyah is a small tell on the coast of Israel. It was first excavated by Immanuel Ben-Dor in 1947 after the construction of a road cut through part of the tell, exposing some Middle Bronze Age remains (Ben-Dor 1950: 1-2). Ben-Dor's excavations discovered two phases of a rectangular building interpreted as a temple (Nahariyah B & C), and an adjacent bamah (Ben-Dor 1950). Following the initial excavations, the site was revisited by Dothan who conducted three seasons of excavations here between 1954 and 1955, focusing on the area of the bamah exposed by Ben-Dor and uncovering an earlier temple (Nahariyah A) beneath this later bamah (Dothan 1956). Other than the three phases of the temple, no other remains were found on the tell. Dothan suggested that the associated settlement may have been a on a tell about 1 km south of Nahariyah (Dothan 1956: 24).



**Figure 69- Three phases of the temple at Nahariyah**

Originally, Dothan reconstructed Building A as a square single room with a bamah against its southern wall (Dothan 1956: 16). However, later scholars have suggested that the building could be reconstructed as having antae (Mazar 1992: fig. 1). In truth, the building is simply too poorly preserved to reconstruct the entire plan, however the temple is included here because it has been compared to the temples at Tell el-Hayyat (Falconer & Fall 2006: fig. 6.38). The last two phases, B & C, have a broad roomed cella containing four pillar bases and other small rooms attached to the sides in the final phase, one of which (Room II) seems to have been a kitchen (Ben-Dor 1950: 16).

Only two preliminary reports from the Nahariyah excavations exist, one for each of the excavations at the site. At the time of writing, Sharon Zuckerman is in the process of producing the final publication for the site. Both reports concentrate mainly on the architecture, although they do give some detail of the finds, particularly in Ben-Dor's report (1950) which gave extensive detail on the miniature vessels and other finds (Ben-Dor 1950: 17-40). The "bamah" at Nahariyah in all phases was notable for the presence of a number of miniature vessels and other objects that had been left there (Dothan 1956: 19-22).

Furthermore, the presence of oily residue was noted on the bamah, which the excavators believed to be the remains of oil offerings (Dothan 1956: 23). Other finds were left in the courtyard and the excavators believed that these and the numerous animal bones and ashes were the remains of "sacrificial feasts" (Dothan 1956: 23). Whether they were feasts for the visitors or simple food offerings to the deity is not clear from the remains however, so this must remain a suggestion at present. The key finds from across the site were a large number of miniature vessels, dove figurines, silver female figurines, beads, numerous fragments of incense stands and bowls (Ben-Dor 1950; Dothan 1956). A lion amulet made from Chalcedony was also found, very similar to the two carnelian lion amulets found in the Are P favissae at Ebla. Clay dove figurines were also found at the Megiddo temple 2048 (Epstein 1965: 210-211) and miniature vessels are noted at a number of other sites including Hazor (Yadin et al 1989a & b), Megiddo (Epstein 1956: 210), Tell el-Hayyat (Falconer et al 2006) and Tel Haror (Katz 2000).

### **Summary of Comparison Sites**

Although it has been difficult to produce a detailed analysis for the case study sites because of the nature of the publications, it is believed that there is adequate data to act as comparison to the temples in antis. Because numbers of finds from the comparison types are not consistently published, a presence and absence table has been produced instead of a detailed frequency table. What can be seen from the comparison sites is that from the perspective of the finds, there seems to be little difference between the temples in antis and other temples. The same types of artefacts are found in the comparison temples, and in both types they are treated in the same ways.

Table 28- Presence and absence of find types at the Comparison Sites

| Type                 | Tell el-Dab'a | Hazor C | Hazor F Str 3 | Hazor F Str 2 | Hazor F Str 1b/a | Lachish Fosse | Lachish Acropolis | Nahariyah A | Nahariyah B | Nahariyah C |
|----------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Bowls                | x             | x       | x             | x             | x                | x             | x                 | x           | x           |             |
| Beakers/Cups         | x             |         |               |               |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Cooking Pots         | x             | x       | x             |               |                  | x             |                   |             |             | x           |
| Jars                 | x             | x       |               |               |                  |               |                   |             | x           |             |
| Storage Jars         | x             | x       |               | x             |                  |               | x                 |             |             |             |
| Jugs                 |               |         | x             | x             |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Juglets              | x             | x       | x             | x             |                  |               |                   |             | x           |             |
| Goblets              |               | x       |               |               |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Cult Stands          |               |         |               | x             | x                |               | x                 | x           |             |             |
| Kraters              |               |         | x             |               |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Lamps                |               | x       |               |               | x                |               |                   | x           | x           |             |
| Miniature Vessels    | x             |         |               |               |                  |               |                   | x           | x           | x           |
| Kernoi               |               |         |               |               | x                |               |                   |             | x           |             |
| Other Ceramics       | x             |         | x             |               |                  |               |                   | x           | x           | x           |
| Personal Accessories |               | x       |               |               |                  | x             | x                 | x           |             |             |
| Figurines            |               | x       |               |               |                  | x             |                   | x           | x           | x           |
| Tools/Weapons        |               |         |               |               |                  |               | x                 |             | x           |             |
| Stone Vessels        |               |         |               |               | x                |               | x                 |             |             |             |
| Sculpture/Stelae     |               | x       |               |               |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Faience Vessels      |               |         |               |               |                  |               | x                 |             |             |             |
| Altars etc           |               | x       |               |               | x                |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Metalworking         |               |         |               |               |                  |               |                   | x           |             |             |
| Furnishings          |               |         |               |               |                  |               | x                 |             |             |             |
| Other items          |               | x       |               |               | x                | x             |                   |             | x           |             |
| Bird                 | x             |         |               |               |                  |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Animal               | x             |         |               |               | x                | x             |                   |             | x           |             |
| Bos                  | x             |         |               |               | x                |               |                   |             |             |             |
| Ovis/Capra           | x             |         |               |               |                  | x             |                   |             |             |             |

Bowls, cooking pots and jars are common at all sites as in the temples in antis. Juglets, goblets, cult stands, kraters, lamps, miniature vessels, and kernoi are also found, though notably miniature vessels are only mentioned at Nahariyah and Tell el-Dab'a, which is interesting since the temples in antis at Hazor do have miniature vessels. There is a possibility that they were found but not published at Hazor since the ceramics from areas C and F are particularly poorly published. Personal Accessories, especially beads are relatively common as are various types of figurines, metallic and ceramic, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. As

in the temples in *antis*, the majority of activity seems to have occurred in the courtyards since this is where the majority of finds were. Although the sherds are more often than not found scattered on floors with no particularly special treatment, small finds tend to be placed on features, for example the *bamah* at Nahariyah and the altar at Hazor. Many of the small finds from the Lachish fosse temple were found within the cella itself or in a cache in the cella floor. The same is true of the miniature vessels, nearly all of which were found on the *bamah* at Nahariyah.

The pits in the courtyard of the Lachish Fosse temple are easily comparable to Ebla P and Alalakh, where the pits were seemingly used to tidy up the temple periodically, as evidenced by the presence of sherds from the same vessel in different pits at all of these sites. They may also be compared to the sherd heaps found at Megiddo and Hazor as it seems that these also represented periodic cleaning of the temples. These pits are however different from the *favissae* in the Temple of the Rock at Ebla (HH1), which seems to represent a single event where the vessels were brought and deliberately deposited whole in the *favissae*. This event is more akin to the pits at Tell el-Dab'a where the pits were also filled in a single event with complete vessels. At Tell el-Dab'a however the pits seem to be the remains of feasting activities, since bowls, cooking pots, goblets/beakers, jars, juglets and the animal bones would seem to suggest eating and drinking, whereas the Ebla HH1 assemblage is almost exclusively goblets and jars. The presence of miniature vessels in the Tel el-Dab'a pits may suggest that they had a more practical use than is often believed, possibly holding small amounts of food or drink, or that they were used as stoppers as suggested by Müller (2002: 278).

Animal bones were found at all sites although the age of many of the publications means that they were not studied or published properly. At Lachish, it is noted that almost all bones were sheep/goat limbs and at Nahariyah it is noted that there were many bones from domesticated animals mixed with ashes. In the Hazor F Stratum 1 cult area, there are large quantities of animal bones near the *bamah* and niche, although only the bull cranium is positively identified by species. In contrast to the Levantine temples where species of animals are identified, the majority of animal bones at Tell el-Dab'a were from cattle (92%) and all were burned. This is almost the direct opposite of what is happening in the Levantine temples, where 70-90% of the bones were sheep/goat.

Tell el-Dab'a is an interesting site and although often cited as a Levantine Temple that happens to be located in the Nile Delta, it seems better described as a hybrid temple. Although there are shared elements with Levantine temples such as the emphasis on food and drink, and the use of pits to dispose of items, the preference for cattle and the burning of these bones and the single use of the pits seems in contrast to the general picture of Levantine cultic activity. It seems plausible that the Tell el-Dab'a temple, as with much of the archaeology at the site, does in fact show a mix between the Levantine culture that the Hyksos brought with them and the local Egyptian culture that already existed in the area.



## CHAPTER 6

### ANALYSIS OF FINDS FROM ALL TEMPLES

This chapter will look at the different categories of finds and compare them across the different sites, both at the case study sites considered in the previous chapter and at the other sites in the gazetteer where finds are mentioned but not published systematically. The finds from the comparison sites are also considered alongside the temples in antis. It is hoped that by treating the finds from all the sites together we will be able to gain an idea of what types of activities are common to all temple types and which, if any are different.

#### Ceramics

##### *Bowls*

Bowls are by far the most common type of find at all the sites. There are 1420 published examples, 32% of the identifiable published sherds. The bowls represented are of different types but can be broadly divided into open and carinated (closed). The only site where bowls were relatively rare was the favissae in the Temple of the Rock at Ebla, where goblets and jars dominated the assemblage. Bowls are also noted as being present at 'Ai, Tall a-Rawda, Tall Bi'a, Tell Kittan, Tell Kabir and Megiddo. At these last two sites, the high number of bowls is pointed out. Bowls are also present at Nahariyah and Lachish, again in high numbers. A number of the published bowls were decorated, ranging from 10-43% of the assemblages from Tell el-Hayyat, Tel Haror, and Hazor (A, H, and White). It should be noted that the high proportion of decorated bowl sherds from Hazor might be at least partially due to the publication focusing on diagnostic sherds. Tell al-Hayyat had the lowest proportion of decorated bowls, followed closely by the Hazor White Temple (13%).

At Ebla P at least, we know that the bowls contained bones and ashes. At Tell Kittan it is also noted that the bowls contained jewellery and a bronze dagger, suggesting that the presence of bowls is often functional, that is they were present as containers for food or offerings rather than as offerings in their own right. As pointed out in the previous chapter, bowls were proportionally more common in the cellae and favissae than in the courtyards, although there were physically more examples of bowls in the courtyards. This perhaps suggests again that

**Table 29- Presence/Absence of finds at all Temples in antis**

[illegible]

they were present in order to hold specific offerings and gifts for the deities, and that these offerings were present in a higher concentration in the cellae and favissae, whereas in the courtyards there are higher numbers of different types of finds.

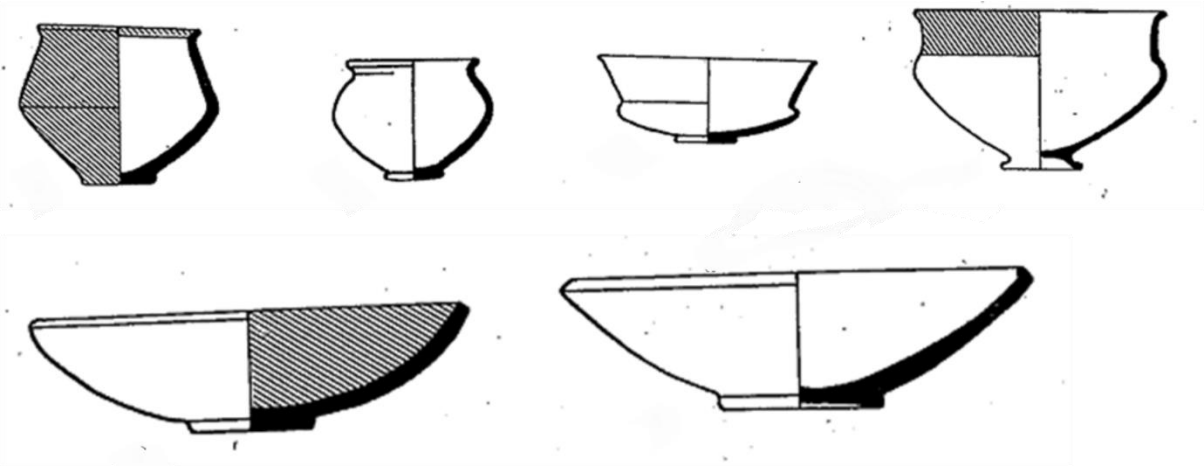


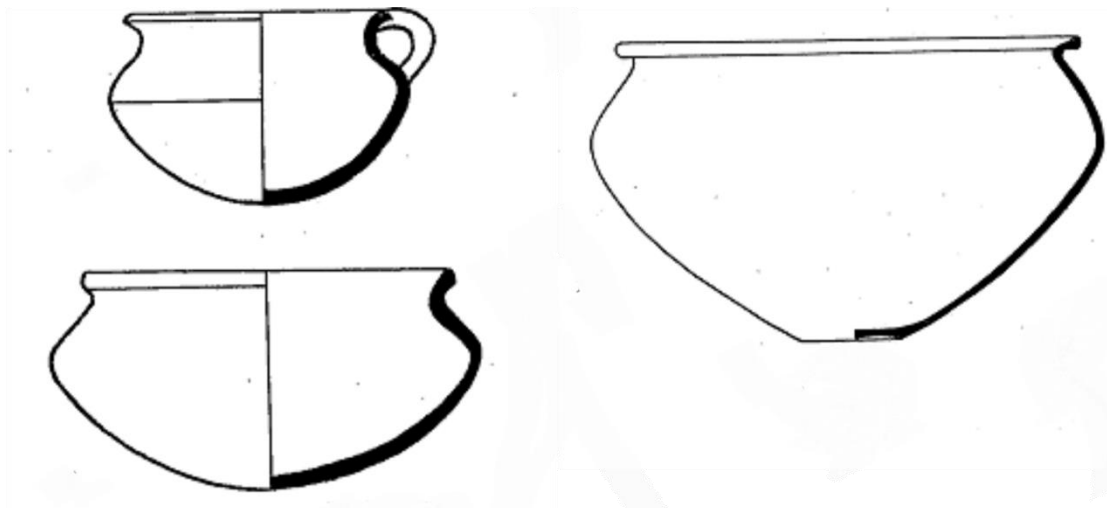
Figure 70- Typical Middle Bronze Bowl forms, top row carinated, bottom row open bowls (after Amiran 1969: Plate 26; Plate 27)

### *Cooking Pots*

Cooking pots are also widespread, although in considerably lower numbers than the bowls. Of the published sherds, 738 examples are known (17%) of the identifiable assemblage. The only site from the case studies not to produce cooking pots was Ebla and Alalakh (although the nature of publication means that they could have been present here). The lack of cooking vessels at Ebla is perhaps a reflection of the fact that the vessels all derive from the favissae. Cooking pots are also mentioned as being present at Tall al-Rawda. Lachish and Nahariyah have also produced high numbers of cooking vessels according to the excavation reports. Decoration is relatively rare, probably a reflection of the functional nature of the vessels. The only site where decoration is present on more than a couple of examples is Tell el-Hayyat where 94 vessels (14%) have some form of embellishment. In most cases, this is an applied ridge of clay around the shoulder of the vessel, with either pinched crimping or incised cross-hatching on it. Some examples also have a red slip.

As mentioned in Chapter 5 the proportion of cooking pots in the courtyards is higher than in the cellae and favissae. Only 5 cooking pots were present in the favissae (less than 1% of the favissae assemblage), 2 at Ebla HH1, and 3 in the Hazor White temple. The temples also seem to lack hearths and tabuns (some fragments of tabun material are found at Tell el-

Hayyat but the low numbers suggest that these are stray fragments not evidence of a destroyed tabun in the temple). This coupled with the high number of cooking pots suggests that food is being prepared elsewhere and brought into the temples in the cooking pots, either for feasting activities or as part of the daily provisions for the deity, or indeed a combination of both. Falconer and Fall note that at Tell el-Hayyat the number of cooking pots increases over time, whereas in the domestic areas the number stays more or less the same, suggesting that there is a change in the types of ritual occurring in the temple with a heavier emphasis on food elements of ritual activity (Falconer & Fall 2006: 107).



**Figure 71- Typical Middle (Left) and Late (Right) Bronze Age Cooking Pots (after Amiran 1969: Plate 30; Plate 42)**

### *Jars*

This is a somewhat broad category collecting jars of various sizes and shapes. Any jar that is not miniature or large is included here. There are 694 examples of jars from the published assemblage, which is 16% of the identifiable sherds. All the case study sites have produced jars in high numbers except the Long Temple at Hazor and Tel Haror, which had only large jars. Particularly notable is the favissae in the Temple of the Rock at Ebla, where jars comprised 36% of the assemblage. Jars are also found in unknown numbers at Tall al-Rawda and Tell Kabir, as well as at Nahariyah. Decoration is relatively common on the jars, mainly consisting of slips (red and white) and painting, usually red but some examples of black and brown paint are known from Hazor H. A number of the Tell el-Hayyat jars also have combed patterns on them. It is noted that the small jars from the Area P favissae at Ebla were associated with clay stoppers and it is suggested that they contained offerings of liquid animal fats (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 7).

Jars are present in slightly higher proportions in the cellae and favissae than in the courtyards, but only marginally. Because this is a broad category with different sizes of jars, it is likely that they were containers for numerous items, as has been seen with the bowls, probably holding foodstuffs, liquids, fats, and also offerings as is seen at Tell Kittan and at Tell el-Hayyat. The lack of jars in the Long Temple at Hazor and at Tel Haror is an interesting anomaly considering how common they are at all the other sites; however, there is also a higher proportion of bowls at these two sites so perhaps bowls were being used for similar purposes. If indeed it was the contents of the bowls and jars that were important, not the containers themselves, then the lack of jars may be incidental.

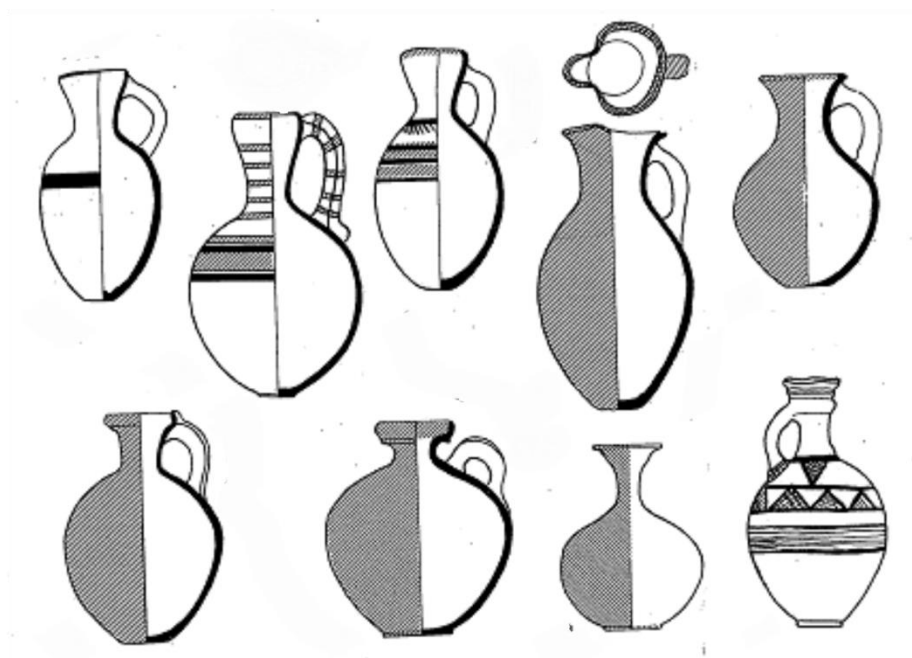
### *Large Jars (Storage Jars)*

This category comprises storage jars and the larger pithos jars of which there are 670 examples in the published assemblage (15% of the identifiable sherds). With the exception of Ebla, all sites produced storage jars in some form. The larger pithoi are only distinguished at Hazor but it is certainly possible that they are present at other sites but grouped together as store jars or large jars. Storage jars are also mentioned as being found in the sanctuary at 'Ai. Storage jars are mostly undecorated but some examples have incised or painted marks around the shoulder or stamps on the handles.

Although there are more examples of storage jars in the courtyards than in the cellae, they account for about the same percentage of the assemblage in each area, however they are notably absent from the favissae. This suggests that the presence of storage jars is more functional than cultic, that they are not present as offerings or as containers for offerings but as places to store temple property. Falconer and Fall (2006: 108) have suggested that the high numbers of storage jars associated with long-term storage and/or exchange indicate that the temple was important in communal storage and local exchange activities in Phases 5 and 4. However, from Phase 3 onwards there is a predominance of vessels indicating short term storage, suggesting a shift in the economic role of the temple.

## *Jugs*

There are 138 examples of jugs known from the published assemblage, making up 3% of the identifiable sherds. All the case study sites except Ebla P have produced jugs. The 'Ai excavation reports also mention the presence of jugs in the sanctuary and jugs were also found at Nahariyah. Most of the jugs are unpainted but around 25% have some form of embellishment, usually in the form of red slips and red paint. Katz notes that despite the relatively low number of jugs, and lack of diversity in types at Tel Haror, there is a disproportionately large number of decorated and imported Cypriot jugs suggesting that they may have been more important than their numbers suggest (Katz 2000: 70-71). Jugs are proportionally equally represented in cellae, courtyards, and favissae.



**Figure 72- Typical Middle Bronze Age Jugs (after Amiran 1969: Plate 33)**

## *Juglets*

Juglets are found at all the case study sites except for Ebla. They take a number of forms but they are usually Dipper Juglets (90% of the case study juglets). There are 122 examples of juglets published, which make up 3% of the identifiable sherds. Juglets are also found at Tell Kittan and Nahariyah. Very few examples are decorated (only six are published). All these are dipper juglets that have been covered in a red slip and burnished. Dipper juglets are

usually found in association with storage jars and seem to have been used to decant the contents of the jars into other vessels (Katz 2000: 67). Juglets are more or less equally distributed between the cellae and the courtyards but are relatively rare in the favissae.



**Figure 73- Dipper Juglet**  
(after British Museum  
Online, Item No. 132027)

### *Goblets*

Goblets are found at all the case study temples except Ebla P and Tell el-Hayyat. There are 100 published examples, accounting for 2% of the identifiable sherds. The goblets from the Temple of the Rock (HH1) at Ebla account for 39% (66 examples) of the published assemblage from that temple. Goblets are also present at Tall al-Rawda and Tell Kittan in unknown numbers. Footed goblets or pedestal vases are present at Tel Haror (seven examples) these are included here as they are in reality a sub type of the goblet type. Decorated examples are known mainly from the Temple of the Rock at Ebla and Hazor Area H. Only isolated examples are published at other sites. Goblets are proportionally equally represented in both the courtyard and the cellae but are more common in the favissae, due largely to the unusually limited repertoire of the HH1 favissae at Ebla. All the published goblets from Hazor Area H are embellished either with red slip and burnishing or with black or red paint. About half of the Ebla goblets are painted with thick concentric stripes around the shoulder and neck in black or red. Some are also incised. Goblets are defined as a deep bowl with a foot or pedestal. Although often grouped with chalices, the differences in the shape of the bowl suggest that chalices are a separate type to the goblet (see discussion of

chalices below). As drinking vessels, goblets should probably be seen alongside bowls and cooking pots as evidence of the role that food and drink played in ritual activity whether in the form of offerings or feasting.



Figure 74- Goblets from the Temple of the Rock at Ebla (after Sala 2012: fig. 15)

### *Cult Stands*

Cult stands are known in various forms from 97 published examples, making up 2% of the identifiable ceramic assemblage. Two main forms are known, one is a tall cylindrical stand, often with painted geometric decoration, on top of which sits a bowl made separately (e.g. Tel Haror, Hazor Long Temple, Hazor White, Ebla P). The other group, which are much more elaborate, consist of a single moulded bowl and foot usually with fenestrations and sometimes with other applied and painted decorations (e.g. Hazor H, Nahariyah). Cult stands are also present at 'Ai, Tall Bi'a, and Megiddo. A burner from Tell el-Hayyat is somewhat smaller but this belongs to the Early Bronze Age and is in keeping with burners/stands from this time. Stands are slightly more common in the courtyards but are also represented in the cellae and favissae.

Cult stands are often referred to as incense burners since this is their presumed function, although Katz has pointed out that their function is not entirely certain (Katz 2000: 65). Fowler has also pointed out the problems of identifying cult stands as incense burners, since a number of them show no evidence of combustion (Fowler 1984: 185; 1985: 27). Fowler suggested the possibility that these stands served a variety of uses as containers for other items that were not burned or as libation stands for example (Fowler 1984: 185; 1985: 27). Potentially some of the cylindrical stands, which are assumed to have held a bowl on top, could equally have served as lamp stands (Smith 1964: 15). However, when incense burners



are used in the present day salt or gravel is often used as a base for the charcoal, which prevents the burning of the container, so something similar may have been occurring in the past although this is purely speculative. Fowler has also stressed the difficulty of designating such stands as purely cultic in nature, since they are also found in domestic contexts and can be reused suggesting that they were not particularly special, for example the fenestrated stands that were reused as a drain in the Area H, Stratum 2 temple at Hazor (Fowler 1984: 185). It does seem however, that these stands were used predominantly in cultic contexts (e.g. Amiran 1969: 302-3 who considers stands to be cultic). It seems at least possible that even in domestic contexts they may have been used as part of ritual activity in household shrines and the like, although undoubtedly incense could have been used simply as a deodorant in any context, cultic or otherwise (Neufeld 1971: 60).



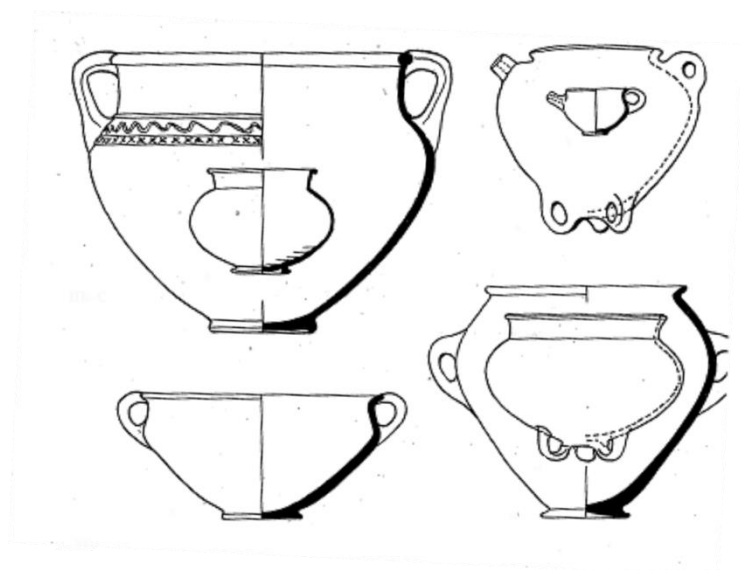
**Figure 75- Cult Stands from (left to right): Tell Qasile (Iron Age) (after Mazar 1977: pl B); Nahariyah (after Ben-Dor 1950: fig 10); Tel Haror (after Katz 2000: fig. 12)**

It should also be noted that incense is expensive, particularly frankincense, which does not occur locally in the Levant (Van Beek 1960: 72; 86) and must be imported from the Gulf of Aden (particularly modern Somaliland) (Van Beek 1960: Fig. 5). This suggests that only the wealthier members of society would have been able to afford to burn incense regularly although there may have been cheaper alternatives available. Fowler makes an important point that the presence of these stands does not necessarily imply that a context is cultic (Fowler 1985: 28). However, it is also true that the most mundane objects can become ritually significant when associated with cultic contexts (Smith 1980: 125). Thus, when taken

with the other evidence derived from the temples as described in this chapter, it seems that stands formed part of the temple furniture, whatever their use may have been. If indeed they are incense burners, they may have been used in the most basic, utilitarian way as a means of counteracting the bad smells and deterring insects that resulted from temple waste but this does not mean that they were not an important part of the daily functioning of temples.

### *Kraters*

Kraters are present at Hazor (Area H, the Long Temple, and the White Temple), Tel Haror, and 1 example at Ebla HH1. They are also present in the Phase 5 temple at Pella in unknown quantities. There are 54 published examples, accounting for only 1% of the identifiable sherds. Katz notes that the low number (5) of kraters at Tel Haror is unusual (Katz 2000: 72), most of the published examples derive from Hazor H with some at the other Hazor temples, Hazor H is also the latest temple of the case study sites. Kraters are more common in the courtyards, only being represented by a few sherds in the cellae and favissae. Roughly half of the Hazor kraters are embellished with slips, paint, burnishing or incised decoration, whereas only one of the Tel Haror kraters is decorated (red slipped and burnished).



**Figure 76- Typical Middle Bronze Age Kraters (after Amiran 1969: plate 29)**

Kraters were large containers used for the mixing of drinks, particularly for diluting or flavouring wine, akin to a modern punch bowl (Katz 2000: 72-73). As such, they are particularly associated with feasting contexts along with other vessels such as cooking pots, serving bowls/platters and bowls (Zuckerman 2007: 187). Kraters are relatively rare

compared to other ceramic types, however, because the krater is used to mix drinks, which would then be decanted into smaller drinking vessels, low numbers are to be expected.

### *Lamps*

Lamps are found at all the case study sites except Ebla. They are more common in courtyards but are also found in cellae and favissae. The majority (43 examples) are typical shallow bowls with a single pinched spout, of a type also found in domestic contexts. These are common in both domestic and cultic contexts as the primary means of lighting and would have been filled with oil (probably olive oil) and had a wick (probably made from flax) placed in the spout (Smith 1964: 5). Smith notes that sometimes ordinary bowls could have also been employed as lamps (Smith 1964: 6). An average sized lamp would have held enough oil to burn through the night and the lamp could potentially have been used as a pilot flame to light fires and ovens in the household (Smith 1964: 7). Lamps could have been placed anywhere due to their small size but it is possible that some of the stands mentioned above could have served as lamp stands. The presence of lamps in temple contexts, particularly in the courtyards perhaps suggests that at least some of the activity there happened in the evenings. Since the temple interiors were probably fairly dark at all times, even if there were windows, lamps may have been employed in the cellae at all times.



**Figure 77- Seven Spout Lamp from Nahariyah (after [http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/item\\_en.aspx?CurrentPageKey=1&indicator=111&shalemid=651](http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/item_en.aspx?CurrentPageKey=1&indicator=111&shalemid=651))**

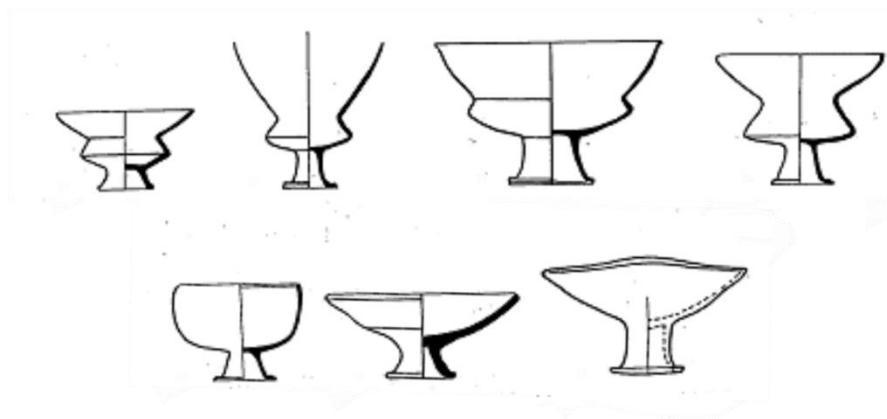
There is also a single 7-spouted lamp from Tel Haror. The 7-spouted lamp type is also seen at Nahariyah and Megiddo. Meyers notes that multiple-wick lamps were somewhat inefficient, which perhaps accounts for their rarity, although they become relatively more common in the Iron Age (Meyers 2008: 45-46). Although any number of spouts could produce a more intense light, Meyers believes that the number seven was chosen specifically because it was symbolic in some way (Meyers 2008: 48). Meyers also notes that the seven spout lamps are almost always associated with cultic or tomb contexts, again suggesting that

they serve some specific ritual purpose (Meyers 2008: 48) although they are also found in domestic contexts sometimes suggesting that they were not limited to public ritual activities (Smith 1964: 14).

### *Chalices*

There are 28 published chalices from the temples. Chalices are present at Tel Haror and Hazor, although the majority (24) are from the Hazor temples, and most of these from Area H. They are also found at Tell Kittan and Megiddo in unknown numbers. About half of the chalices are decorated with red slip and burnishing or paint.

Chalices are defined as a bowl with a foot or pedestal attached underneath. They are similar to goblets in this respect but the major difference is that the bowl of the goblet is much deeper and narrower, whereas the chalice bowl is wide and shallow (Grutz 2007: 2). Although scholars have often grouped chalices and goblets together as variations on a general type of drinking vessel, Grutz points out that there is little evidence to suggest that chalices were used for drinking (Grutz 2007: 8). The shape of the chalice alone would make it difficult to drink from (Grutz 2007: 9). The actual function of chalices is difficult to determine. It has been suggested that they were used as lamps, serving bowls, eating bowls, offering bowls, lamp stands, or incense burners. However, the problem is that little scientific research in the form of residue analysis has been performed on the chalices meaning that at the moment, all of the theories are as likely as each other (Grutz 2007: 9). Residue analysis on the chalices from two Iron Age sites, Patish and Tell es-Şāfī, suggested that they had been used as incense burners at these sites (Gadot et al 2014: 71).



**Figure 78- Typical Middle Bronze Age Chalices (after Amiran 1969: plate 27 & 28)**

There have also been suggestions that chalices were a type of cultic vessel. However, many of the chalices derive from domestic contexts, as well as from cult sites and tombs so it is difficult to say with certainty that the chalice is specifically a cult vessel (Grutz 2007: 6). It has been argued that chalices were cultic regardless of where they were found and that when found in houses they are used as part of domestic cultic activity (Gadot et al 2014: 72), this is of course a possibility, but one that is difficult to prove. As with cult stands, it seems that within the temple context, chalices are a part of cultic furniture, but this does not necessarily mean that they are solely used in ritual activities.

### *Miniature Vessels*

About 5% of the identifiable published sherds are miniature vessels. There are 205 published vessels, the majority of which are bowls (163 examples), although there are also jars, bottles, juglets, a cooking pot and a goblet represented. They are found at all the case study temples except the Temple of the Rock at Ebla. They are also found in large numbers at Nahariyah as well as being present at Byblos and Megiddo. A sub type of miniature jars from Ebla Area P is those with applied figurines of birds around the neck. Unfortunately the numbers of these are unknown but they are unique to the Area P temple and Pinnock has suggested that they were made specifically for ritual activity here because there is no contemporary parallel (Pinnock 2000: 122). It is possible that some of the miniature vessels were actually part of composite vessels such as kernoi or seven cupped bowls (see below). Miniature vessels are most common in the courtyards and tend to be grouped together around features like altars or bamah or buried in pits and favissae, suggesting that they, or their contents, were given as offerings. They are present but not as common in the cellae.

Miniature vessels can be difficult to define with certainty since many vessel forms vary in size anyway, but Naeh, in reviewing the miniature vessels from Nahariyah, defined miniature as less than 7.5cm in diameter and height, although admitting that vessels tend to represent a continuous range of sizes (Naeh 2012: 188). Miniature vessels seem to have been relatively cheaply made with poor clay, rough finishing and low temperature firing, making them fragile (Naeh 2012: 189). Decoration on the miniature vessels is rare and is restricted to occasional examples of slips and burnishing on some miniature juglets and bowls (Naeh 2012: 189).



**Figure 79- Miniature Vessels from Nahariyah (after Naeh 2012: fig. 4)**

Miniature vessels have often been considered purely votive objects that were given as offerings in their own right (e.g. Dothan 1981: 76), since some examples are clearly models with no inside space and others with inside space were considered too small to function as true vessels. However, Naeh argues that many miniature vessels have sufficient space inside to hold small portions of food or drink for example, which may have functioned as votive offerings or used in certain rituals while the vessels were considered simply as containers (Naeh 2012: 188). The fact that the majority were so cheaply made may also suggest that the vessels held little symbolic significance in their own right.

### *Kernoi*

A number of broken Kernoi have been found at Tell el-Hayyat and Hazor Area H. Although only 18 are published, they are mentioned here because they apparently have a purely cultic function (Falconer & Fall 2006: 109). Kernoi are also found at Nahariyah, Tell Afis, and Pella. They seem to be most common in courtyards but the low number of published examples makes it difficult to draw many conclusions about their distribution. Kernoi are a special type of composite vessel consisting of a hollow ring on which are attached a series of miniature vessels or figurines (Amiran 1969: 303). They seem to be used in purely cultic settings, being found almost exclusively in temples and tombs (Bignasca 2007: 51). It seems likely that kernoi were used in libation offerings (Amiran 1969: 303; Bignasca 2007: 51). Although relatively rare, they are found in Early Bronze Age Mesopotamia and slightly later in the rest of the Near East becoming most common in the Late Bronze and Iron Age. There is a possibility that some of the miniature vessels discussed above were in fact part of kernoi.

Another artefact, the seven cupped bowl (a composite vessel consisting of a bowl with seven miniature cups set into it), found at Nahariyah and Byblos may have been used in a similar way to the kernos and indeed may be a variation on it (Naeh 2012: 192). Residue analysis on the cups has shown that they contained vegetable oil or animal fats (Naeh 2012: 192).



**Figure 80- An Iron Age Kernos from Megiddo**  
(after  
<http://oi.uchicago.edu/collections/highlights/highlights-collection-pottery>)



**Figure 81- A Seven Cupped bowl from Nahariyah** (after Naeh 2012: Fig. 7)

### Small Finds

#### *Personal Accessories*

This category comprises beads, amulets, seals, and metal jewellery items. Personal accessories are most commonly found in favissae but are also found elsewhere in the cellae and courtyards, usually associated with altars or bamah, for example the beads found on the altar at Tell el-Hayyat Phase 5 and 4. Beads are by far the most common type in this

category, though if we take into account the fact that many were likely from the same item originally their number would be considerably lower. Most of the beads (102) are carnelian, whilst there are also 61 of frit, 24 of faience, and others made from glass, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, amethyst, onyx, shell, chalcedony and other stones. Beads are found at all the case study sites as well as at Tell Kittan, Tell Kabir, Lachish, and “hundreds of beads” were found at Nahariyah. Amulets are much rarer. A lapis lazuli fish is found at Alalakh (stratum 7) and two carnelian lions are found in the favissae in Area P at Ebla. An almost identical lion is found at Nahariyah although this example is made from chalcedony. Some of the materials used to make beads and amulets attest to long distance trade, since for example lapis lazuli, agate, and carnelian are known to have been imported from India and Afghanistan.



**Figure 82- Faience Beaded Necklaces from the Fosse Temple at Lachish**  
([http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_image.aspx?image=ps147877.jpg&retpage=18884](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_image.aspx?image=ps147877.jpg&retpage=18884))



**Figure 83- Carnelian Lion Amulet from Ebla P (after Marchetti & Nigro 1997: fig. 15)**



Metal jewellery items are found at all the case study sites as well as at Byblos, Tell Kittan, Tell Kabir, and Lachish. These take many forms, bronze being the most common material but there are also gold and silver items. Toggle pins, brooches, pendants, rings, and torques are found. There are also a number of bronze and silver crescents and discs found at Hazor in the Long Temple, where they are found on a platform in the side room, and in Area H where they are mostly associated with the courtyard altar. These crescents are of an unknown function but are possibly pieces of jewellery. Whatever their function may be, the placement of these crescents on altars suggests that they were given as votives. Seals are relatively rare, but are found at Alalakh, which produced a chalcedony cylinder seal, and several stamp seals. A lapis lazuli cylinder seal was also found in the Area P favissa at Ebla. Seals are also found at Nahariyah and Lachish. Five scarabs of steatite and faience have also been found at Alalakh, Tel Haror, and Hazor Area H. The association of the personal accessories with favissae and altars suggests that they represent gifts to the deity although it is conceivable that some of the jewellery items were used in the daily dressing of the deity.

### *Figurines*

Figurines are usually thought to have a cultic function of some form and there has been much discussion about how they were used and which deity (if any) they may have represented (e.g. Kletter 1996; Holland 1977; ‘Amr 1980; Badre 1980; Hamilton et al 1996). In the southern Levant, the more common ceramic figurines are particularly associated with domestic contexts and sometimes graves but are generally absent from cult buildings (Moorey 2003: 37; Kletter 1996; Holland 1977; ‘Amr 1980). There is a handmade female figurine from the fosse temple at Lachish (Tufnell et al 1940: 24) and some from the Tel Haror temple complex (Katz 2000). Ceramic anthropomorphic figurines are more common in the temples in the northern Levant, being present at Alalakh and Ebla (HH4 and P). These depict females in the “Syrian” style, that is, flat figures, relatively stylised, often with elaborate applied hairstyles and facial features (see Badre 1980 for more information). Ceramic zoomorphic figurines are also found at many sites, though as with the anthropomorphic figurines, in the southern Levant they are more common in domestic contexts. The most common forms depict quadrupeds, although in the temples at Nahariyah and Megiddo dove figurines are also found. Figurines are evenly distributed between the cellae and the courtyards with a slightly higher proportion in the courtyard. The majority

however are found in the favissae, a number skewed by the evidence from Ebla since the favissae at Hazor held no figurines.

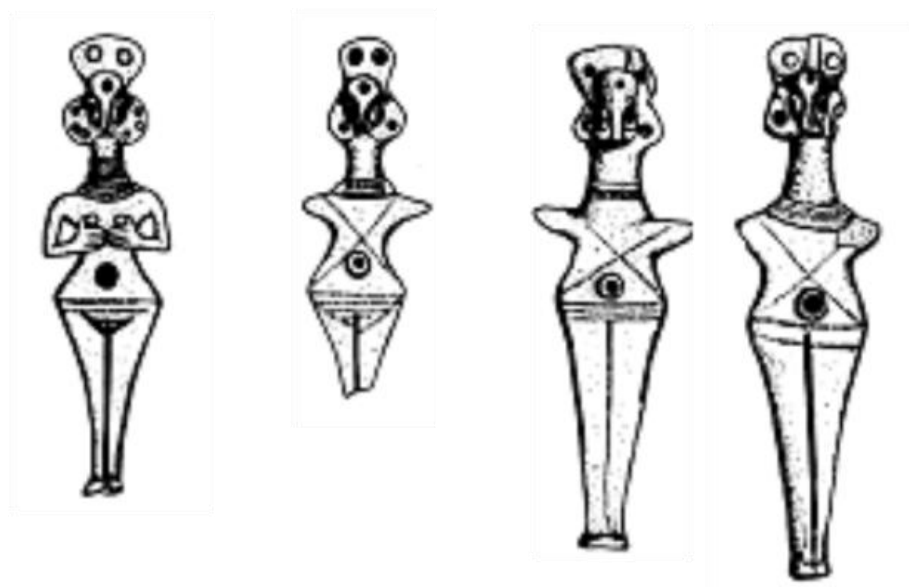


Figure 84- Typical Syrian Female Figurines (after Marchetti & Nigro 1997: fig. 11)

Metal figurines are also found. Unlike the ceramic figurines, these tend to be restricted to temple contexts (Negbi 1976: 141). These depict male figures (often believed to be the Canaanite god Reshef), females (often believed to be fertility goddesses), or animals. Negbi, amongst others, has argued that metal figurines do represent deities since they are mostly found in cultic contexts (Negbi 1976: 2). However, the identification of figurines (ceramic or metal) with deities is problematic and although it is agreed that many of them, particularly the metal figurines may indeed represent deities, it is also possible that they are representations of other individuals such as kings, and this should be born in mind before assumptions about their identities are made. The metal figurines are relatively rare, though whether this is an accident of preservation, rather than a reflection of the actual number of figurines present, is unfortunately impossible to ascertain. Metal is a valuable commodity and is easily recycled so metal items (for example cult statues) often do not survive. An unusual case is the embedding of a bronze female (?) figurine in the bench of the Phase 5 Tell el-Hayyat temple. The excavators suggested that this may have depicted Astarte, but in truth, the figurine is too poorly preserved to even be certain that it is a female (Falconer & Fall 2006: 88; fig 6.8; fig. 6.9). A number of metal figurines were also found at Nahariyah inside jars and on the bamah, many of which are silver plaque figurines of females.

Another type of find is the chariot/cart models in ceramic. These are usually found in fragments, particularly the wheels being identified (e.g. Tell el-Hayyat). Fragments of the chariots themselves have also been found at Ebla HH2 as well as a complete chariot from Ebla P that was an interesting variation as a hybrid chariot with an applied animal head.



Figure 85- Figurines from the temple at Nahariyah (<http://www.imj.org.il/image/galleries/viewItemE.asp?case=2&itemNum=393990>)

Female figurines in particular are often associated with fertility, the assumption being that they are used as a form of sympathetic magic to ensure fertility. This is not the place to go into the debate over the use of figurines and who or what they represent, because as I have argued elsewhere, it is a question that will likely remain unanswered until clear evidence is presented as to their function. In addition, there is no evidence that figurines always have the same function, different people could be using them in different ways, depending on individual beliefs or needs. Since the figurines in question here are found as part of temple assemblages it is possible that they represent very generally a gift to the deity being worshipped to ensure the goodwill of that deity, or perhaps a specific prayer or wish that may vary dependent on the person presenting the figurine to the temple. The truth is that they should probably be treated as part of the general tradition of presenting offerings at the temples, since we cannot verify any specific or different role that they should be associated with.

### *Other objects*

Many other objects are also found in temples, either rare or unique. Loom weights and spindle whorls are found at a number of temples, although the numbers are relatively small,

suggesting that they are offerings rather than representing actual textile production in the temple complex. Tools and weapons are also found at some sites, although as they are made from metal it is possible that they were originally present in larger numbers but have since been looted and recycled. These often take the form of daggers and other knives but there have also been bronze woodworking tools (e.g. the chisel from Alalakh), and spear or arrow heads. The tools are possibly evidence of temple maintenance or craft rather than offering but the weapons seem more likely to be offerings, particularly those found in special places, for example the favissae at Ebla or the bamah at Nahariyah. Items like the daggers could potentially have been used for the slaughter and butchery of animals, which seems to have been happening in the temples. Moulds and crucibles (found at Tell el-Hayyat, Hazor, and Nahariyah) may also attest to metalworking occurring in association with temples, possibly to produce items such as figurines (e.g. Nahariyah) or jewellery (e.g. the Long Temple at Hazor) for the cult, or for people to purchase and offer in the temples.

### *“Furnishings”*

This category comprises elements of decorative work and metal attachments either for pieces of furniture, boxes, and wall panels etc. that were made from wood that no longer survives. The inlays are sometimes relatively simple, commonly of bone or ivory with geometric incisions, but some are more elaborate depicting plants and figures. Inlays are also found made from semi-precious stones, limestone, frit, and shell. Inlays are found at Alalakh Stratum VII, Carchemish, Ebla P, Hazor H, Pella, and Qara Quzaq, although only Ebla P seems to have them in any great quantity. Here they are found in the middle layers of the favissae along with fragments of gold foil and gilded nails, and other broken objects interpreted as periodic clearing of the temple area. Broken items belonged to the cult and could not simply be discarded so instead they were collected together and placed into the favissae (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 31).

### *Clay Tablets*

Clay tablets are attested at Alalakh Stratum VII, Ebla G3, Ebla HH2, the Temple of the Diviner at Emar, Ta'yinat, and Ugarit. The Stratum VII temple at Alalakh contained a temple archive of administrative texts, mainly concerning incomings and outgoings of silver on behalf of the palace (Lauinger 2008: 187).. The two texts from Temple HH2 at Ebla are also

administrative texts in the form of lists of silver and jewellery along with some personal names (Matthiae 2007: 517-518). In a side room of the G3 sanctuary at Ebla, there were a number of clay liver models placed on benches although unfortunately the number of examples is not given (Matthiae 1987: 149). At Emar again, exact numbers of texts are not given but we do know that the Temple of the Diviner had a number of texts within it associated with divination (Margueron 1982: 31).

The cuneiform tablets at Ta'yinat are fragmentary but seem to represent at least 11 texts, mostly literary and historical documents except for one text which is an oath by the governor of Ta'yinat to Esarhaddon (King of Assyria) (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 137). These tablets were found on the podium in the holy of holies in Building XVI. Two of the tablets were amulet-shaped, a class of text that served a primarily votive function, and a number were pierced suggesting that they had been suspended for display (Harrison & Osborne 2012: 137). Ugarit is of course famous for its texts and although no archives were found in the temples themselves. Religious texts were found in private archives, notably in the House of the High Priest (located between the Temple of Baal and the Temple of Dagan, where many of the religious texts were found at the site (Yon 2006: 111; Schaeffer 1939: 34).

### Faunal Material

Detailed faunal data is only available from Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. Other sites that mention animal bones do so only in passing and do not provide enough data for anything except comparisons to Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. Disarticulated bones are discussed first, followed by the rarer examples of buried fauna, which seem to constitute a separate type of ritual activity.

#### *Disarticulated Bones*

Sheep/Goat bones are by far the most common type of faunal material at both Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. Of the total identifiable fauna in both temples (excluding the burials), 88% of the bones belong to sheep/goat (10531 bones). Tel Haror has a larger percentage of sheep/goat bones compared to other types, 96% in stratum V but dropping to 94% in the later phases. Sheep/goat are also the most common animal bones found at the Pella Temples (Bourke 2012b: 179) and sheep/goat bones are also found in the Ebla favissae, although in

unknown numbers (Marchetti & Nigro 1997: 5). At Tell al-Rawda, 98% of the fauna in the temple are sheep/goat bones. The sacrifice of sheep/goats is frequently mentioned in the Ugaritic religious texts (e.g. Pardee 2002: 43; 56; Wyatt 2002: 50; 130 etc.) and in the Bible (e.g. Gen 15:9; Ex 29:38; Lev 1:10; 1 Kg 8:63)

Cattle bones account for 8.3% of the total identifiable animal bones from Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. They are most abundant in the earliest phase at Tell el-Hayyat (15% of the bones from this phase) but gradually decrease in popularity as the percentage of pig bones increases. Cattle becomes more popular at Tel Haror in the later phase but still only accounts for 5% of the identifiable bones. Cattle bones are also “occasionally” found at Pella although no exact numbers are published (Bourke 2012b: 179) and at Tell al-Rawda they make up only 1.7% of the assemblage. As with sheep/goats, cattle are mentioned frequently in the Ugaritic texts as sacrifices (e.g. Pardee 2002: 63; 68; 71; 98) and in the Bible (Ex 29:10; Lev 4:3; 1 Kg 1:9; 1 Kg 8:63).

Pig bones are the rarest of domesticated meats found in the temples, accounting for only 3.2% of the assemblage from Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. At Tel Haror, pig bones are negligible, only 5 bones are found in the temple from its entire lifespan. In the earliest phase at Tell el-Hayyat, pig bones are relatively rare in the temple but the increase in popularity from 1.5% to 10% in the final phase as cattle bones become less frequent. Pigs are noticeably absent from the deposits at Pella (Bourke 2012b: 179) and make up less than 1% of the Tell al-Rawda temple assemblage. Pigs are not mentioned in the Ugaritic texts and are expressly forbidden in the Bible (Lev 11:7; Dt 14:8). It is interesting that although in the Tell el-Hayyat temple, pig bones are extremely rare, especially in the later phases, in the domestic contexts pigs and sheep/goats are more or less equally represented, suggesting that pigs were not forbidden *per se* but were unsuitable for cultic consumption.

Gazelle/deer bones are absent in the assemblage from Tell el-Hayyat, and are represented by only 12 bones at Tel Haror. They are also rarely present at Pella (Bourke 2012b: 179). Four dog bones at Tell el-Hayyat probably represent wild fauna not deliberate deposition (the buried dogs at Tel Haror will be discussed below) as do the occasional examples of fox and rodent bones.

Bird bones are relatively rare at both sites (excepting the burial fauna at Tel Haror). Only 19 non-corvid bird bones were found at Tel Haror in all phases. Tell el-Hayyat also has low numbers of bird bones with 12 dove bones and 17 other bird bones found in all phases of the temple. Bird bones are also “rarely” encountered at Pella (Bourke 2012b: 179). Dove bones are found regularly in the favissae at Ebla although exact numbers are not published. The low numbers of bird bones at Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat probably represent wild animals, not intentional deposits. At Ebla, the bird bones are associated with burnt remains inside bowls, which were then placed in the favissae. In the texts from Ugarit, the offering of turtledoves is mentioned frequently (e.g. Pardee 2002: 30; 33; 52; 63). Perhaps the offering of doves is associated only with the northern Levant, or perhaps only related to certain deities. The presence of dove figurines at sites like Nahariyah and Megiddo may be associated with the offering of actual doves but this is purely speculative. It may also be the case that the offered doves were domesticated as it has been suggested that the city doves so frequently mentioned in the Ugarit texts referred specifically to domesticated birds (Pardee 2002: 268), meaning that perhaps smaller temples did not practice the offering of doves frequently. Turtledoves and pigeons are mentioned a number of times as offerings in the Bible as well (e.g. Gen 15:9, Lv 5:7-10). Bird sacrifices in the Ugaritic texts are usually associated with chthonic deities (Pardee 2002: 267).

Fish bones are relatively rare at both Tel Haror and Tell el-Hayyat. Only 6 bones were found in all phases at Tel Haror and only 17 at Tell el-Hayyat. The small size and delicacy of fish bones may account for their rarity, since they may both be missed during excavation and may not survive in the first place. In the Ugarit texts, fish is only mentioned once as an offering of fish soup (Pardee 2002: 56).

In terms of parts distribution, Falconer and Fall noted differences between the frequency of body parts represented in the temple courtyards and the temple interior. It was noted that foot bones were more frequent in the interior whereas leg and trunk bones (generally associated with meat cuts) were more frequent in the courtyard (Falconer & Fall 2006: 105). They suggested that the higher frequency of foot bones inside the temple was related to rituals associated with certain body parts. It has to first be determined what we are seeing here. It is possible that these are curated foot bones, in which case it could be that they are being used for divination or other ritual purposes, certainly astragali were used as such. It could also be the case that the animals are being slaughtered, or at least butchered, inside the temple since

foot bones tend to be associated with the skinning of carcasses, so high concentrations of them can indicate waste from the flaying of the animals (Klenck 2002: 76). Although it seems unlikely that waste materials from the butchering would have been left to decompose inside the temple, because it would have caused unpleasant smells and pests inside the building, Klenck has pointed out that the use of incense both masks odours and can help keep flies at bay since it affects their breathing (Klenck 2002: 88).

The lower proportion of leg and trunk bones in the temple compared to domestic contexts could indicate that animals were being slaughtered in the temple compound but that at least some of the cuts of meat were taken elsewhere afterwards, for example that they were shared out amongst the inhabitants for consumption elsewhere. Klenck has also noted that there is a higher proportion of foot bones from the temple than from the domestic assemblage at Tel Haror. He points out that as waste material foot bones tend to be left and not taken away like other cuts of meat and suggests that when used with other evidence, high proportions of foot bones can indicate ritual slaughter (Klenck 2002: 89).

At Tel Haror, Klenck noted that a large number of the bones, especially those near altars were burned (Klenck 2002: 89). He notes that this is in contrast to the domestic assemblage where about half as many bones were burned. In the temple 10% of the bones had been burned to some degree, whereas only 5.7% of the domestic bones were burned (Klenck 2002: 55). The number of burned bones at Tell el-Hayyat is comparatively low, less than 1% of the bones had any burning on them, suggesting that the burning of animal remains was not a regular occurrence here.

### *Burial Fauna*

Buried animals are found only at Tel Haror and Ebla. At Tel Haror, there are a series of buried crows and puppies, mainly from the earliest phase of the temple where 64 crows and 45 dogs are buried. In stratum IVb 37 crows and 24 dogs were excavated, and in stratum Iva 18 crows and 24 dogs were found. At Ebla, there are a series of special burial deposits in the square of the cisterns. There were two pits containing three dog skeletons (two dogs side by side in one and one dog on its own), each covered in large sherds, and hard dirt mixed with cattle bones. There was also a pit containing two crania (human and goat) surrounded by other animal bones and another pit containing a disarticulated sheep with the head in the





**Figure 86- Burial Fauna from Tel Haror, left Puppy, right, Crow (after Klenck 2002: plate 4.5; plate 4.1)**

centre surrounded by the long bones. It is difficult to know what to make of these burials. They were clearly deliberate and likely the result of some ritual activity but the reason for them is hard to determine. Klenck has suggested that the dogs were associated with healing as in Mesopotamia this is the case and dog burials were found at the temples at Isin (Klenck 2002: 73) but the crows are more difficult to determine. Klenck suggested that they were killed as vermin, being considered pests by farmers and being associated with carrion feeding on battlefields (Klenck 2002: 84). If this was the case though then the same could be considered true of dogs since feral dogs would doubtless be an annoyance. Klenck's interpretations of the animal burials derive mainly from analogy to Mesopotamian practices and to biblical references (mainly from Leviticus). There is no direct evidence in the southern Levant of dogs being associated with healing, nor of crows being associated with death. It is difficult to definitively prove any theory as to why these animals were killed and buried. It is clear that they constituted some kind of ritual action. Perhaps if the pest theory is true then this was related to some form of sympathetic magic related to ridding the town of these nuisances. Then again, if the healing theory is correct then the burials could be related to healing and perhaps, in the case of the crows, to death. The point is that there are many plausible interpretations of these burials, all of which are as likely or unlikely as the next.

### Botanical Remains

The only botanical remains to be published in any detail are those from Tell el-Hayyat, a preliminary report was also offered on the botanicals from Tell al-Rawda. The most common seeds found in the Tell el-Hayyat temples from all phases are various species of wild flowers

(58% of the botanicals from all phases of the temple). It is possible that some of these represent flowers brought to the temple but it seems equally possible that they are simply blown into the temple from the surrounding area or were weeds growing in the courtyard. Of the other identifiable remains, the majority belong to figs (21%). Wild flowers are the most common seeds in all phases except phase 3 where figs made up 57% of the assemblage. Cereals and Legumes each made up 10% of the total assemblage and grape and olive accounted for less than 1% together.

The lower number of cereals and grape seeds is not perhaps unusual, as it seems more likely that if they were used in the temple rituals it would likely be in a processed form, i.e. as bread or wine. In addition, it should be remembered that a single fig contains hundreds of seeds. Furthermore, the flotation sampling strategy at Tell el-Hayyat may have skewed the results somewhat; samples were taken from “selected loci” though what types of loci were selected is not specified (Falconer & Fall 2006: 25). It is usually the case that only special contexts (pits/bins/hearths/burials etc.) will be sampled for flotation meaning that any occurrence of carbonised seeds from other depositions will be missed, as it is not common practice to flot samples from every excavated context. The survival of botanical remains is skewed in itself since, except in rare environmental cases, it relies on the carbonisation of seeds, and this coupled with the sampling bias of excavators may potentially lead to an inaccurate representation of the plant remains on archaeological sites. Ideally, flotation samples would be taken from every excavated context on a given site, which allows for a more accurate representation of botanical remains. That said, at Tell el-Hayyat it was noted that the proportion of cereals in domestic contexts was considerably higher than in the temple, whereas fruit and wild plants were much more frequently represented. The excavators interpreted this as evidence that fruit and flowers were an important part of temple offering rituals whereas cereals, olives, and grapes were more common in food processing areas in the domestic contexts at the site (Falconer & Fall 2006: 105).

At Tell al-Rawda, we know that there was a slightly higher proportion of cereals in the non-temple (rampart) sample and that most other species were represented by low numbers of seeds with the exception of wild legumes and *Silene* (Campion), both of which were represented by very low numbers in the rampart sample. Unfortunately, since the Tell al-Rawda botanical report is preliminary, and only 2 samples produced results, it is difficult to draw many conclusions from it. The low number of fruit seeds may suggest that the offering

of fruits was not common at the site but it could equally be the case that the sampling was on too small a scale to properly represent the botanical remains, since only 26 samples were taken from the entire site, and only 7 samples were published (Herveux 2004: 80). Similarly, the significance of the Campion seeds is not clear since this could potentially represent a single plant that grew as a weed in the temple, and not necessarily the offering of wild flowers for example.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSIONS

#### *Ritual Activities in Temples in antis*

What then have we found about ritual activities in the temples *in antis*? We have seen that the most common forms of ceramics are serving vessels, mainly bowls, as well as food preparation vessels, cooking pots and kraters, and storage vessels, jars and jugs. This suggests that a major part of the cult involved the preparation and serving of food. Cooking Vessels were more prevalent in the courtyards than in the cella, possibly linked to feasts taking place in courtyards, although interestingly there are no hearths or taburns in the temples suggesting that food may have been prepared elsewhere and brought into the temples. The vessels are often found associated with animal bones, which could suggest the offering of cuts of meat, usually sheep/goat. At Tel Haror, around 10% of the bones are burned, which could be indicative of burnt offerings or cooking. At a number of other sites where faunal data has not been analysed and/or fully published it is reported that animal bones are associated with ashy deposits suggesting that at other sites the burning of meat offerings could have been practised as well. Whether these finds suggest feasting, the offering of foodstuffs to the deity, or simply the regular provisions for the sustenance of the deity is difficult to determine from the archaeology alone. It is possible that this evidence is representative of a number of different types of actions that happen to look similar in the archaeological record.

Sharon Zuckerman has suggested that feasting occurred in the Area H and Area A temples at Hazor, based on the large number of animal bones and serving vessels (Zuckerman 2007). Zuckerman suggests that food consumption, either by the divine residents of the temple or their mortal servants, was the main ritual practice in the Area H temple (Zuckerman 2007: 193). Food and drink play an important role in religious activity, because they are necessary for survival they become important too in ritual spheres that reflect and construct social identities (Dietler 2011: 179). Feasting, along with other rituals, serves as an arena for the “symbolic representation and active manipulation of social relations” (Dietler 2011: 180). Archaeologically, it has been observed that we might expect to see fewer forms of vessels than in domestic contexts, because they are only being used for food consumption and not for other activities, and thus that ceramics will mainly consist of serving vessels, cooking pots

and jugs for pouring wine (Dabney et al 2004: 203). Zuckerman points out that although we know from the archaeology that feasting occurred at Hazor, the interpretation of the nature and function of feasts is difficult to determine, since feasts likely served various purposes and had multiple meanings which do not survive archaeologically (Zuckerman 2007: 201).

Animal bones, do not necessarily indicate the presence of food offerings, they could also represent the ritual sacrifice of animals to the deity. This is a common element of many religions, not just near eastern religion (see for example Insoll 2011). This may explain the discrepancy between the number of limb and trunk bones to other bones in the temples compared to the domestic contexts. Perhaps animals are slaughtered as a sacrifice and then some cuts of meat are shared out amongst the practitioners. It could also explain the presence of the burial fauna at Tel Haror and Ebla, the animals may have been sacrificed and then buried almost immediately as a gift to the deity.

The Ugaritic texts refer to regular sacrifices of meat and animals to the deities, offered at set dates (Pardee 2002: 28ff). There are references to sacrifices in the Ugaritic texts, where the term seems to indicate the cutting of an animal's throat prior to a feast (Pardee 2002: 271). There are also references to a sacrificial pit, as a place specified for the sacrificing of animals and possibly more specifically the place where the animal's blood was poured out (Pardee 2002: 272). There are also numerous biblical references to the regular sacrificing of animals at sacred sites, not just in reference to the Solomon's temple in Jerusalem (1 Kg 8: 63), but also at various other non-temple sites (e.g. Gen 15:9-10; Ex 29: 38-42). The animal bones could potentially indicate both the sacrificing of animals and the subsequent feasting on the meat. We know from texts that food and drink offerings and animal sacrifices played an important part in the cult of the ancient Near East (Hundley 2013: 119).

The texts at Ugarit also refer to the offering of flour and grains and occasionally honey and wine. Wine is also mentioned in reference to feasting associated with certain rituals (Pardee 2002: 273). The Ugaritic texts also talk of gold, silver, fabrics, perfumed oils and honey being given as part of the regular offerings (Pardee 2002: 48). Exodus also mentions making offerings from the "abundance of your threshing floor and your winepress" in the Jerusalem Bible (or "the first of thy ripe fruits and of thy liquors" in the KJV) (Ex 22: 29). Juglets and jars may have contained oils and honey but it cannot be proved with any certainty. They could potentially have contained any substance since none of them would survive

archaeologically and no residue analyses have been performed on the ceramics thus far. Stands are found at many of the sites. If they can indeed be interpreted as incense burners then it suggests that incense burning was an important aspect of temple life. It is possible, as suggested by Klenck, that the burning incense would both mask unpleasant odours from decaying food offerings/butchery waste, and deter flies that might be attracted to it.

Other items in the temples seem to relate to votive offerings, that is, gifts to a deity that aim to appease, thank, or strengthen a prayer (Darvill 2003: 457). The specific forms of these votives vary from site to site, but there are broad categories that are found from site to site. These include jewellery, seals, weapons, figurines, miniature vessels for example. Although the types of objects are highly varied, the treatment of them is more consistent. Very often, these objects are found together, often on benches in the building, altars in the courtyard or in pits. Personal items such as beads and seals are much more common in the cellae than in courtyards, which may suggest that they were linked more closely to the deity, possibly forming part of their wardrobe for example. It seems that votive items are brought to the temples and deposited in a place set aside for such gifts. “Altars” can take many forms and sizes. Smaller freestanding altars may be a single piece of carved stone, often, but not always, with a depression in the top. Larger altars can be made from multiple stones or mudbricks and are often less elaborate, usually simply a platform, rectangular or circular.

Some of the pit deposits, particularly the favissae at Ebla and Hazor, and the pits at Alalakh and Lachish for example seem to be secondary deposits. That is to say that the items were first left elsewhere but that periodically these areas were cleared up to make room for new offerings. The items were then put into the pits or favissae possibly since as gifts to the deity they could not simply be discarded. The jars with applied dove figurines in the Ebla area P favissae are an interesting case since no complete vessels were found so it seems that only the special parts of these jars, the parts with applied figures, were kept. This could of course be coincidental, perhaps these parts were simply more easily spotted as the temple area was cleaned up, but it does seem like a significant trend. The Ebla P favissae do contain a number of complete vessels at the base and then at the top, with the secondary deposit finds in the middle. This may suggest the preparing of the favissae before use, followed by a ritual sealing of the favissae when it was filled. The Ebla HH1 favissae are an unusual case since they seem to represent a single event to seal the temple at the end of its life. The Tell el-Dab’a pits were also filled in one event, probably directly following feasts.

### *Comparison to other types of temples*

Having considered the data concerning ritual activities in as much detail as possible it seems that the general types of ritual activities are the same as they are across the ancient Near East. There are many differences between objects found in each temple but these seem to be minor and stylistic, the same broad categories of objects are found at each site, and it is not difficult to see that different sites, in different areas, will have different styles of objects. Perhaps more important is the fact that these artefacts are treated in much the same way at all the sites with votives placed in special areas such as altars or favissae. The differences between different temples could simply be geographic, that is that different sites do things slightly differently. They could potentially relate to the specific needs of the deity being worshipped, a female deity may be offered more “feminine” personal items for example, or certain deities may be associated with certain animals, which may account for some of the zoomorphic figurines. Unfortunately, it is difficult to test the reasons behind the inter-site variations, but it does not seem far-fetched to suggest that both geographic and cultic considerations influenced the objects found in the temples.

The ritual activity in both the temples in antis and in other temples seems to consist of animal sacrifices and/or food preparation (whether for the deity or for feasting) and the giving of gifts to the deity, although the reasons why these gifts were given can only be guessed at. Notable in the Levantine temples is a preference for the use of sheep/goat in the sacrifices whereas in Egypt, even at the so called Syro-Palestinian temple at Tell el-Dab’a, the animal bones are predominantly cattle, despite more or less the same proportion of sheep/goat to cattle bones in the domestic contexts in both the Levant and Egypt. Nearly all of the animal bone from the Tell el-Dab’a temple is burned compared to relatively low numbers of burned bones recorded in the Levant. Although the ceramic assemblage at Tell el-Dab’a is similar to that of the Levantine temples, the deposition is not, and also there are relatively few types of ceramics at Tell el-Dab’a compared to the Levantine temples, possibly because the assemblage represents a single type of activity, namely feasting. The Tell el-Dab’a pits, filled with ceramics and animal bones, are often compared to the favissae at Ebla P, but they seem to represent different types of activity. The Tell el-Dab’a pits are filled in a single event, they do not remain open to be filled over a period of time like those at Ebla. Furthermore, the favissae at Ebla contain votives as well as food offerings whereas the Tell el-Dab’a pits contain only animal bones and ceramics.





Figure 87- Map showing the Early Bronze Age Temples in antis



Figure 88-Map showing the Middle Bronze Age temples





Figure 89- Map showing the Late Bronze Age Temples



Figure 90- Map showing the Iron Age temples

### *The spread of the Temples in antis*

It is true that the typical temple in antis form, with the long room cella seems to have appeared first in Syria around the Euphrates in the Early Bronze Age, only appearing in the southern Levant in the Middle Bronze Age. However, contemporary temples in the southern Levant (e.g. Megiddo), despite having a broad roomed cella, share many other features with the long roomed temple in antis. The porch is still formed by extending the side walls forward, and the buildings are of a similar size. This is perhaps not that surprising since the easiest way of creating a porch on a rectangular single roomed building would be to simply build a dividing wall towards the front of the space as in the case of the Levantine temples. Perhaps it is rather the long versus the broad room plan of the buildings, which is significant, since this seems to be the main difference between the Syrian and southern Levantine temples, although ritual activity seems the same across the whole area throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Long room temple plans were not the only change that appeared in the Middle Bronze Age of the southern Levant. Urban centres began to appear at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age and they shared many features with northern cities, for example earthen ramparts, chambered gates, domestic architecture, and painted pottery all seem to show influence from Mesopotamia and Syria (Ilan 1998: 301). It has been suggested that this reflects an influx of people, who, responding to a growing overpopulation of the northern Levant, spread to the less densely populated southern Levant (Mazar 1992b: 189), or at least that there was contact allowing ideas if not people to spread (Ilan 1998: 301). Textual evidence shows that Syria and Mesopotamia were in contact with the southern Levant, with ambassadors present at Hazor, and they also mention trading relationships with the southern Levant (Ilan 1998: 307). It seems then that the change from broad to long roomed temples was part of a larger package of ideas that spread from the north to the south during the Middle Bronze Age. Whether this change was the result of an influx of new people however, or simply an increase in contact through trade and politics is difficult to determine without more evidence. It seems likely that there were already contacts in the Early Bronze Age between the southern Levant and Syria, when trade routes between Mesopotamia and Egypt likely passed through the Levant (Savage 2011) though in the Middle Bronze Age, these relationships seem to have intensified. Despite the change in the style of the building however, there is no discernible change in the ritual activities in the southern Levant from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.

## Summary

At the beginning of this study, it was hoped that by careful analysis of the finds within the temples in antis, it would be possible to reconstruct the ritual activity that they represented. The temples in antis would then be compared to other types of temples in the Levant, in order to determine whether they represented a different type of cult or simply a different style of architecture. Having discovered what we were dealing with, simply architecture or a whole cult “package”, we could then consider briefly, what had allowed the temples to spread.

In completing the study it has been found that a full analysis of the data from the temples in antis is impossible based on the published material. The data for most sites is simply not available. That said, the case study sites are published in enough detail to allow comparisons between them and the other temples in antis, and this has allowed us to draw conclusions about the nature of ritual activity in these temples. It has been shown that no significant differences exist between the ritual activities in the temples in antis and those in other temples in the Levant. There are however, significant differences in the practice of cult at Tell el-Dab’a compared to the Levantine temples, despite the fact that the Tell el-Dab’a temple is described as Syro-Palestinian in terms of its architecture and ritual activity by the excavators.

Finally, regarding the spread of the temple architecture, it has been noted that there was already a precedent in the Early Bronze Age southern Levant for single roomed temples with an in antis porch. In the Middle Bronze Age, the long room plan seems to have been introduced from the north as part of a larger package of ideas spreading south from Syria but whether this was the result of migrations of people or simply intensified contact between the two areas remains to be seen.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| AAAS   | <i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>                                     |
| ADPV   | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins                                       |
| AJA    | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>   |
| AOAT   | Alter Orient und Altes Testament   |
| BA     | <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>  |
| BAR    | <i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>   |
| BAR IS | British Archaeological Reports International Series                                |
| BASOR  | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>                       |
| CAJ    | <i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>  |
| CRAI   | <i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> |
| DM     | <i>Damaszener Mitteilungen</i>   |
| EJA    | <i>European Journal of Archaeology</i>   |
| IEJ    | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>  |
| JANER  | <i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>                                   |
| JCS    | <i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>  |
| JESHO  | <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>                    |
| JSOT   | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament   |
| NEA    | <i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>  |
| OED    | Oxford Dictionary of English (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., 2005)                           |
| OIP    | Oriental Institute Publications  |
| PEQ    | <i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>   |
| QDAP   | <i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>                     |
| RAI    | Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale  |
| TA     | <i>Tel Aviv</i>  |
| WA     | <i>World Archaeology</i>   |
| ZDPV   | <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>                                 |





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